

The Harmony of
Interests:
Slave Trade Exposed
1850

Henry Charles Carey

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Chapter Fifteenth.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS THE LABOURER.

WHENEVER there is in market a surplus of any commodity, whether that surplus be the effect of natural or artificial causes, the price of the whole tends to fall to that at which the last portion can be sold—and whenever there is a deficiency, the price of the whole tends to rise to that point at which the last portion that is needed can be obtained. Labour is a commodity, the owners of which seek to exchange with other persons, giving it in the form of sugar or cotton, and receiving it in the form of cloth and iron, and, being such, it is subject to the same laws as all other commodities. So long as there shall be a surplus of it anywhere, the price everywhere tends to fall to the lowest level. With the diminution of the surplus anywhere, the price everywhere will tend to rise to a level with the highest.

Mere labour, unaided by machinery, can effect little. The man who has no axe cannot fell a tree, nor can he who has no spade dig the earth. The man who has no reaping-hook must pull up the grain, and he who has no horse or cart must transport his load upon his back. Such is the condition of the people of India, and such, nearly, is that of the people of Ireland. Labour is consequently unproductive, and its price is low.

To render labour productive, men require machinery, which is of three kinds, to wit: First, Machinery of *production*, consisting of lands that are cleared, drained, and otherwise fitted for the work of

cultivation. Second, Machinery of *conversion*, as saw-mills, which convert logs into planks and boards; grist-mills, which convert wheat into flour; cotton and woollen-mills, which convert wool into cloth; and furnaces, which convert lime, fuel, and ore into iron. Third, Machinery of *transportation*, by aid of which the man who raises food is enabled to place it where he can exchange it with the one who makes cloth or iron.

The two latter descriptions make no addition to the quantity of food or wool that is to be consumed. The wheat or cotton that goes into the mill comes out flour or cloth. The barrel of flour that goes into the ship comes out a barrel of flour, neither more nor less, and it will feed no more people when it comes out than when it went in.

The bushel of wheat that is sown comes out of the earth six, eight, or ten bushels, and the bushel of potatoes comes out twenty or thirty bushels. They have been placed in the machine of production, while the others have been placed in the machines of conversion or transportation.

The more labour that can be applied to the machine of production, the larger will be the supply of food and wool, and the larger will be the quantity of both that will be deemed the equivalent of a day's labour.

The nearer the place of conversion can be brought to the place of production, the less will be the necessity for transportation, the more steady will be the demand for labour throughout the year, the larger will be the quantity that may be given to the work of production, the better will the labourer be fed and clothed, and the more rapid will be the accumulation of wealth in the form of machinery to be used in the further increase of production.

Wealth tends to grow more rapidly than population, because better soils are brought into cultivation; and it does grow more rapidly whenever people abandon swords and muskets and take to spades and ploughs. Every increase in the ratio of wealth to population is attended with an increase in the power of the labourer as compared with that of landed or other capital. We all see that when ships are more abundant

than passengers, the price of passage is low—and that when, on the contrary, passengers are more abundant than ships, the price is high. When ploughs and horses are more plenty than ploughmen, the latter fix the wages, but when ploughmen are more abundant than ploughs, the owners of the latter determine the distribution of the product of labour. When wealth increases rapidly, new soils are brought into cultivation, and more ploughmen are wanted. The demand for ploughs produces a demand for more men to mine coal and smelt iron ore, and the iron-master becomes a competitor for the employment of the labourer, who obtains a larger proportion of the constantly increasing return to labour. He wants clothes in greater abundance, and the manufacturer becomes a competitor with the iron-master and the farmer for his services. His proportion is again increased, and he wants sugar, and tea, and coffee, and now the ship-master competes with the manufacturer, the iron-master and the farmer; and thus with the growth of population and wealth there is produced a constantly increasing demand for labour, and its increased productiveness, and the consequently increased facility of accumulating wealth are followed necessarily and certainly by an increase of the labourer's proportion. His wages rise, and the *proportion* of the capitalist falls, yet now the latter accumulates fortune more rapidly than ever, and thus his interest and that of the labourer are in perfect harmony with each other. If we desire evidence of this, it is shown in the constantly increasing amount of the rental of England, derived from the appropriation of a constantly decreasing proportion of the product of the land: and in the enormous amount of railroad tolls compared with those of the turnpike: yet the railroad transports the farmer's wheat to market, and brings back sugar and coffee, taking not one-fourth as large a *proportion* for doing the business as was claimed by the owner of the wagon and horses, and him of the turnpike. The labourer's product is increased, and the proportion that goes to the capitalist is decreased. The power of the first over the product of his labour has grown, while that of the latter has diminished.

Look where we may, throughout this country, we shall find that where machinery of transportation is most needed, the quantity of labour that can be given to production is least, and the return to labour—or wages of the labourer in food, clothing, and other of the necessities and comforts of life—is least: and that where transportation is least needed, the quantity of labour that can be given to production is greatest, and wages are highest: or in other words, that the nearer the consumer and the producer can be brought together the larger is the return to labour.

For forty years past the cultivation of cotton in India has been gradually receding from the lower lands towards the hills, producing a constantly increasing necessity for the means of transportation, and a constant diminution in the quantity of labour that could be applied to production. With each such step labour has been becoming more and more surplus, and the reward of labour has been steadily diminishing.

During a large portion of this period, such has been the case with Southern labour. It has been gradually receding from the lower lands of South Carolina and Georgia, producing a constant increase in the necessity for transportation, while the commodities to be transported would command in return a constantly decreasing measure of cloth, iron, and other of the necessities of life. This tendency has been in some degree arrested by the large consumption at home, and by the power of applying labour to the culture of sugar; but were we now to change our revenue system, establishing perfect freedom of trade, the home manufacture of cotton and the home production of sugar must cease, and cotton wool would then fall to three cents per pound, for the planter would then be reduced to that as the only thing he could cultivate for sale. Labour would become more and more surplus, with a constant diminution of the power of the labourer to obtain either cloth or iron.

So has it been, and so must it continue to be, with the sugar and coffee planters. Their products yield them a constantly diminishing quantity of either cloth or iron, with constantly increasing difficulty of obtaining clothing or machinery in exchange for labour.

In New England, wages—*i.e.* the power to obtain food, clothing, and iron in exchange for labour—are high, but they tend to rise with every increase in the productiveness of Southern and Western labour, and so will they continue to do as Southern and Western men become manufacturers, because the latter will then have more to offer in exchange for labour. With any diminution in the productiveness of labour South or West, the wages of New England must fall, because there will then be less to offer them in exchange.

In England, the power to obtain food, clothing, or iron, for labour, is small, and it tends to diminish with every increase in the proportion of the population dependent upon transportation, and every diminution in the proportion that applies itself to production, because with each such step there is a necessity for greater exertion to underwork and supplant the Hindoo, whose annual wages even now are but six dollars, out of which he finds himself in food and clothing. With every step downwards, labour is more and more becoming surplus, as is seen from the growing anxiety to expel population, at almost any present sacrifice. Why it is so we may now inquire.

The great object of England is commerce.

Commerce among men tends to produce equality of condition, moral and physical. Whether it shall tend to raise or to depress the standard of condition, must depend upon the character of those with whom it is necessary that it should be maintained. The man who is compelled to associate with the idle, the dissolute, and the drunken, is likely to sink to the level of his companions.

So is it with labour. The necessity for depending on commerce with men among whom the standard is low, tends to sink the labourer to the level of the lowest. Place half a dozen men on an island, two of whom are industrious and raise food, leaving it to the others, less disposed to work, to provide meat, fish, clothing, and shelter, and the industrious will be *compelled* to exchange with the idle. Clothing and shelter are as necessary as bread, and those who play will therefore profit by the

labours of those who work. The latter, finding such to be the result, will cease to work with spirit, and by degrees all the members of the little community will become equally idle. Here lies the error of *communism* and *socialism*. They seek to compel union, and to force men to exchange with each other, the necessary effect of which is to sink the whole body to the level of those who are at the bottom.

So, too, is it with nations. The industrious community that raises food and is *dependent* on the idle one that makes iron must give much of the one for little of the other. The peaceful community that raises cotton and is *dependent* on the warlike one that raises silk, must give much cotton for little silk. Dependence on others for articles of necessity thus makes a community of goods, and the sober and industrious must help to support the idle and the dissolute—nations as well as individuals.

So long as this state of dependence exists, the condition of each is determined by that of the other. If the idle become more idle, and the dissolute more dissolute, those who still continue to work must steadily give more labour for less labour, and their condition must deteriorate unless they adopt such measures as shall gradually diminish and finally terminate their dependence on such companions.

The policy of England has tended to produce *communism* among nations. She has rendered herself dependent upon other communities for supplies of the articles of prime necessity, food and clothing, obtaining her rice from the wretched Hindoo, her corn from the Russian serf, and her wool from the Australian convict, neglecting her own rich soils that wait but the application of labour to become productive.

The necessary consequence of this is a tendency downwards in the condition of her people, and as it is with those of England that those of this country are invited to compete, it may not be amiss to show what is the condition to which they are now reduced by competition with the low-priced labour of Russia and of India.

The *Spectator*, a free-trade journal, informs us* that “the condition of the labouring classes engaged in agriculture, long an opprobrium to our advancement in civilization, has not improved; while wages exhibit *a universal tendency to decline beneath the lowest level of recent times.*”

The *Morning Chronicle* has recently given a series of letters from a correspondent specially deputed to inquire into the condition of the labouring classes in the agricultural counties, and by him we are informed that in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire the average wages of the year will not exceed 9/==\$2.16 per week, while in Berks and Wiltshire they will not exceed 7/==\$1.79, and with this it is to be borne in mind that “when a poor wretch is prevented for a day, or even half a day, from working, his wages are stopped for the time.” The wife sometimes works in the fields, and adds three shillings a week to the fund out of which these unfortunate people are to be subsisted, yet this gain is not without a drawback, as will be seen by those who may read the following account of the condition of the English agricultural labourer, in the middle of the nineteenth century, which, long as it is, will be found interesting:—

“ When a married woman goes to the fields to work, she must leave her children at home. In many cases they are too young to be left by themselves, when they are generally left in charge of a young girl hired for the purpose. The sum paid to this vicarious mother, who is generally herself a mere child, is from 8*d.* to 1*s.* per week, in addition to which she is fed and lodged in the house. This is nearly equivalent to an addition of two more members to the family. If, therefore, the mother works in the fields for weekly wages equal to the maintenance of three children for the week, it is, in the first place, in many cases, at the cost of having two additional mouths to feed. But this is far from being all the disadvantages attending out-door labour by the mother. One of the worst features attending the system is the cheerlessness with which it invests the poor man’s house. On returning from work, instead of finding his house in order and a meal comfortably prepared for him, his wife accompanies him home, or perhaps arrives after him, when all has

to be done in his presence which should have been done for his reception. The result is, that home is made distasteful to him, and he hies to the nearest ale-house, where he soon spends the balance of his wife's earnings for the week, and also those of his children, if any of them have been at work. A great deal is lost also through the unthrifty habits of his wife. Her expertness at out-door labour has been acquired at the expense of an adequate knowledge of her in-door duties. She is an indifferent cook—a bad housewife in every respect. She is also in numerous instances lamentably deficient in knowledge of the most ordinary needle-work. All that she wants in these respects she might acquire, if she stayed more at home and was less in the fields. In addition to this, her children would have the benefit of being brought up under her own eye, instead of being, as they are, utterly neglected and left to themselves; for the party left in charge of them—and it is not always that any one is so—is generally herself a child, having no control whatever over them. It is under these circumstances that the seeds of future vice are plentifully sown. On the whole, as regards the system of married women working in the fields, I cannot, when the children are young, but look on the balance as being on the side of disadvantage. In that case I think it would be decidedly better for the poor man, having reference only to his physical comforts, that his wife stayed at home. And this is the position of many a labouring man. In many cases when the family is large, some of the children are at work, adding their scanty wages of from 1s 6d. to 2s. a week to the common fund. But I have known numerous cases of families of seven children, of which the eldest was not eight years old. Besides, when these are fit to work and earn wages of their own, his children soon become independent of him, and set up for themselves. This is in one way a relief to him, unless his family, while diminishing at one end, is increasing at the other. There can be no doubt but that a family is frequently aided by the earnings of the children, but in by far the greater number of cases the means of support are procured by the parents themselves. From what has been already said of the disadvantage to the whole family at which the wife bears her share in procuring them, it will be evident that the husband's

earnings are, after all, the true test and standard of his own condition and that of those dependent upon him.

Moreover, in a very large proportion of cases, the wife remains at home, attending to duties more appropriate to her sex and position, in which case there is no other aid to be had, unless it be the trifling and fitful earnings of one or two of the children. We have seen that, in the counties in question, there are about 40,000 married couples, who, with their children, numbering about 120,000, depend exclusively upon agricultural labour for support. Of the 40,000 mothers, fully one-half stay at home, some being compelled to do so on account of the extreme youth of their children; and others, save when their families are somewhat advanced, preferring from calculation to do so, as being the best mode of turning their scanty means to good account. This may be taken as the case with half the married couples, who, with their families, will number about 100,000 individuals. So far, therefore, as these are concerned, the children, in about the same proportion of families, being too young to add any thing to the common stock, there is nothing else to adopt as the test of their condition and the standard of their comforts but the earnings of the husband. Let us inquire, therefore, into the condition of a family thus solely dependent upon such wages as the husband has, on the average, received during the past portion of the current year. I can best illustrate that condition by one of the numerous cases which came under my consideration in Wiltshire. The laborer in that case had had 8*s.* a week, but he was then only in receipt of 7*s.* He had seven children, the eldest of whom, a girl, was in her eighth year. Two of his children had been at a “dunce’s school;” but they were not then attending it, simply because he could not afford the 4*d.* a week which had to be paid for their education. To ascertain how far he was really incapable in this respect, I requested him to detail to me the economy of his household for a week, taking his earnings at 8*s.* The following is the substance of the conversation, discarding, for the reader’s sake, the portions in which the names are given.

When are your wages paid?—On Saturday night, but often only once a fortnight.

What do you do with the money on receiving it?—I first lay by my rent, which is a shilling a week. I then go to the grocer's and lay in something for Sunday and the rest of the week. I buy a little tea, of which I get two ounces for 6*d.* Sugar is cheap, but I cannot afford it. We sometimes sweeten the tea with a little treacle, but generally drink it unsweetened.

Do you purchase any butcher meat?—Generally for a Sunday we buy a bit of bacon.

How much?—It is seldom that I can afford more than half a pound.

Half a pound among nine of you?—Yes; it is but a mere taste, but we have not even that the rest of the week. It costs me about 5*d.*

Do you buy your bread, or make it at home?—We buy it. We have not fire enough to make it at home, or it would be a great saving to us.

Do you buy a quantity at once, or a loaf when you need it?—We buy it as we need it.

Have you a garden attached to your cottage?—I have about fifteen poles, for which I pay 1½*d.* a pole. It is less than the eighth of an acre.

What do you raise from it?—We raise some potatoes and cabbages.

Do you raise a sufficient quantity of potatoes to serve you for the year?—No, not even if they were all sound.

In addition to the potatoes and the cabbages which you raise, how much bread do you require for your own support, and that of your wife and seven children for the week?—We require seven gallons of bread at least.

What is a gallon of bread?—It is a loaf which used to weigh 8lbs. 11oz., but which now seldom weighs above 8lbs. Those who supply bread to the union seldom make it over 8lbs.

What is the price of the gallon loaf?—Tenpence. It is cheaper than it was, but then there is not always so much of it. It is often of short weight.

Seven gallons of bread at 10*d.* a gallon would make 5*s.* 10*d.*, would it not?—I believe it would make about that—you ought to know.

Do you always get seven gallons a week?—No, seldom more than six.

Then you spend 5*s.* in bread, and make up for the want of more by potatoes and cabbages?—Yes.

You have still some money left; what do you do with it?—It costs us something for washing. For soap and soda, and for needles and thread for mending, we pay about 5*d.* a week.

Do you buy fuel?—We get a cwt. of coal sometimes, which would cost us about 1*s.* or 1*s.* 1½*d.* if we took in any quantity and paid ready money. When we do neither it costs us about 1*s.* 4*d.* a cwt. If there is one poor man who can afford to buy it in any quantity for ready money, there are forty who cannot.

How long would a cwt. of coals serve you?—We make it last one way or another for two weeks.

Your fuel, therefore, will cost you about 8*d.* a week?—It will.

Is there any thing else you have?—We buy a little salt butter sometimes, which we can get from 6½*d.* to 10*d.* a pound. We are obliged, of course, to take the cheapest; “and really, sir, it is sometimes not hardly fit to grease a wagon with.”

But your money is already all gone: how do you pay for your butter?—It is not always that we have it, and we can only have it by stinting ourselves in other things.

You have said nothing about your clothing: how do you procure that?—But for the high wages we get during the harvest time, we could not get it at all.

How long does the time last when you get high wages?—About ten weeks, and but for what we then get I do not know how we could get on at all.

From this recapitulation it must certainly appear a mystery to the reader how they get on as it is. The weekly expenditure, in our view, is as follows, the family being nine, and the weekly receipts 8s.:—

	s.	d.
Rent.....	1	0
Tea.....	0	6
Bacon.....	0	5
Bread.....	5	0
Soda, soap, &c...	0	5
Fuel.....	0	8
Total.....	8	0

The provision for clothing is in the extra wages paid at harvest time, while the family cannot be treated to the luxury of bad butter without sacrificing the tea, two ounces of which must serve for a week, the half pound of bacon, which affords but a “mere taste” on Sunday to each; some of the bread which is already but too scantily supplied; or a portion of their fuel, the absence of which renders their home still more cheerless and desolate. Sugar, too, is out of the question, without trenching upon items more absolutely necessary. Nor is there any reserved fund for medicines, too often required by a family of nine thus miserably circumstanced. What, in short, have we here? We have nine people subsisting for seven days upon 60 lbs. of bread—scarcely a pound a day for each, half a pound of bacon, and two ounces of tea, the rest being made up by a provision, too scanty in nine cases out of ten, of potatoes and cabbages raised in the garden. Could they descend much

lower in the scale of wretchedness, especially when we couple with their stinted supply of the less nutritious kinds of food the miserable hovels in which it is taken by them, either shivering in the winter's frosts, or inhaling the pestilential odours engendered around them by the summer heats?

I could no longer express any surprise at 4*d.* a week being grudged for the education of two children.

This being the mode in which his weekly wages were expended, I asked the same individual to give me an account of his daily life, including his labour and fare. In reply to my questions on this point he answered, in substance, as follows:—

At what hour do you go to work?—At six in the morning, generally, in summer; but I have gone much earlier. In winter time work begins at a later hour.

Do you breakfast at home?—When I do not go out very early I generally do.

Of what does your breakfast consist?—Principally of bread, and sometimes a little tea. Sometimes, too, we have a few potatoes boiled.

When do you dine?—About twelve.

Of what does your dinner consist?—On the Monday my wife gets a little flour and makes a pudding, which, with a few potatoes, forms my dinner. Sometimes we have a pudding on other days, but generally our dinner is bread and potatoes, with now and then a little cabbage. When the family is not large, there may be a bit of bacon left that has not been used on Sunday, but that is never the case with us.

You return to work again?—I do, and when I come home at night may have a little tea again, with the bread which forms my supper. The tea is never strong with us, but at night it is very weak.

Do your children get tea?—We have not enough for that.

What is their drink?—Water; sometimes we get them a little milk.

What is your own drink?—Water.

Do you never drink beer?—Never, but when it is given me; I can't afford to buy it.

When your dinner consists of bread, potatoes, and water, have you nothing to season it or make it palatable?—Nothing but a little salt butter; and we can only afford that when the bread or potatoes happen not to be very good, or when we are ailing, and our stomachs are a little dainty.

When your bread or potatoes are bad, or your stomachs are dainty, you take as a relish the butter which you said was scarcely fit to grease a wagon with?—We have nothing better to take.

Suppose you had nothing but bread to eat, how much would you require to sustain you at work in the course of a day?—Two pounds at least.

And how much would one of your children require?—About the same. A child, although not at work, will eat as much as a man; children are always growing, and always ready to eat, and one does not like to refuse food to them when they want it. I would sooner go without myself than stint my children, if I could help it.

Then, at the rate of two pounds a day for each, you would require for all about 126 lbs. for the week?—I suppose about that.

And, as you only get about sixty pounds of bread a week, you have to rely on your potatoes and cabbages, your half pound of bacon, and two ounces of tea, to make up for the sixty-six pounds which you cannot get?—We have nothing else to rely on.

Have you enough of these to afford you as much nourishment as there would be in sixty-six pounds of bread?—Not nearly enough.

Is what you have stated your manner of living from week to week?—It is when I have work.

And when you have not work, how is it with you?—In the winter months we have sometimes scarcely a bit to put in our mouths.

Such is the substance of the statement, as regards his own and his family's circumstances, made to me by a labouring man in the receipt of the average rate of wages for the last nine months in Wiltshire. Comment is scarcely needed, the facts speaking but too plainly for themselves. Had the family been smaller, or the wages a little higher, instead of a "taste," they might have had a meal of bacon once a week. But even then it would be but once a week, potatoes and bread still constituting the staple of their diet, and even these not being had by them in sufficient quantity. Besides, even if they had it more frequently, bacon is not the most nourishing food in the shape of butcher meat; it is fat, and goes to fat. The little lean that is in it is almost destroyed by the process of curing. But it is greasy, and soon satisfies. "It fills us sooner than any other kind of meat," was the reply given to me when I asked why they preferred it to beef? But the fault is that it does not fill them; it satiates, without filling them. Bulk is required as well as nutriment in food. The stomach has a mechanical as well as a chemical action to perform. A man could not live on cheese, nor could he exist on pills having in them the concentrated essence of beef. They buy bacon because it goes a longer way than other meat—in truth, they buy it because it soon cloyes them. Nor is it always that they have even a "taste" of it once a week. I have seen several families who had not tasted butcher meat of any kind for weeks at a time. When French and English workmen came together during the construction of some of the French railways, it was found that the Englishman could perform far more work than his French competitor. This was universally attributed to the superiority of his diet, it being supposed but reasonable

on all hands to expect more work from the man who fed on beef and porter than from him whose fare was bread and grapes. But the fare of the man who is expected by his labour to develope, year after year, the agricultural wealth of England, is, in a large proportion of cases, little better than bread and water—the fare of the condemned cell! Contrast the condition of the English farm labourer with that of the farm labourer in Canada. In England he eats butcher-meat once a week, and not always that; in Canada he has as much of it as he wants once, at least, and frequently twice a day. Contrast his condition even with that of the slave in the Southern States of America. In Virginia, the great slave State, it is seldom that a day passes without the slave eating butcher-meat of some kind or other. In addition to this, when he is old and infirm, he has a claim on his master for support. But the English labourer, if he has a family to sustain, has not, even during the days of his strength, when he can do, and does work, the same nutritious diet as the slave; while, when he is disabled, or loses his work, he must starve, or, as the alternative, become a vagrant, or the recipient of a formal and organized charity. In the words of one of themselves, “it is not a living, sir—it is a mere being we get;” by which he intended to convey that their reward for their toil was their being barely enabled to exist.

It may be said that the case put is an extreme one. It is the case, however, of nearly one-half of those who are dependent upon labour in the fields. But it may be said that I have omitted to take into account some little privileges which the labourer has, and which, when he avails himself of them, tend to enhance his comforts. He may keep a pig, for instance, and his employer will sometimes find him straw for it, which, in process of time, will serve as manure for his little garden. This looks very well on paper, but that is chiefly all. In the four counties under consideration the number of labourers keeping pigs is about one in twelve. It is also a striking illustration of the condition of the labourers, that even such of them as do feed a pig seldom participate in the eating of it. Then we hear a great deal about the coal and clothing clubs, to which I shall hereafter more particularly advert, and the chief merit of

which is that they tend to render life not pleasant, but barely tolerable to the poor.”

The sleeping accommodations are thus described:—

“ These are above, and are gained by means of a few greasy and rickety steps, which lead through a species of hatchway in the ceiling. Yes, there is but one room, and yet we counted nine in the family! And such a room! The small window in the roof admits just light enough to enable you to discern its character and dimensions. The rafters, which are all exposed, spring from the very floor, so that it is only in the very centre of the apartment that you have any chance of standing erect. The thatch oozes through the wood-work which supports it, the whole being begrimed with smoke and dust, and replete with vermin. There are no cobwebs, for the spider only spreads his net where flies are likely to be caught. You look in vain for a bedstead; there is none in the room. But there are their beds, lying side by side on the floor, almost in contact with each other, and occupying nearly the whole length of the apartment. The beds are large sacks, filled with the chaff of oats, which the labourer sometimes gets and at others purchases from his employer. The chaff of wheat and barley is used on the farm for other purposes. The bed next the hatchway is that of the father and mother, with whom sleeps the infant, born but a few months ago in this very room. In the other beds sleep the children, the boys and girls together. The eldest girl is in her twelfth year, the eldest boy having nearly completed his eleventh; and they are likely to remain for years yet in the circumstances in which we now find them. With the exception of the youngest children, the family retire to rest about the same hour, generally undressing below, and then ascending and crawling over each other to their respective resting-places for the night. There are two blankets on the bed occupied by the parents, the others being covered with a very heterogeneous assemblage of materials. It not unfrequently happens that the clothes worn by the parents in the day time form the chief part of the covering of the children by night. Such is the dormitory in which, lying side by side, the nine whom we have just

left below at their wretched meal will pass the night. The sole ventilation is through the small aperture occupied by what is termed, by courtesy, a window. In other words, there is scarcely any ventilation at all. What a den in the hour of sickness or death! What a den, indeed, at any time! And yet when the sable goddess stretches forth her leaden sceptre over the soft downy couch in Mayfair, such are the circumstances in which, in our rural parishes, she leaves a portion of her slumbering domain.

Let it not be said that this picture is overdrawn, or that it is a concentration, for effect, into one point, of effects spread in reality over a large surface. As a type of the extreme of domiciliary wretchedness in the rural districts, it is underdrawn. The cottage in question has two rooms. Some have only one, with as great a number of inmates to occupy it. Some of them, again, have three or four rooms, with a family occupying each room; the families so circumstanced amounting each, in some cases, to nine or ten individuals. In some cottages, too, a lodger is accommodated, who occupies the same apartment as the family. Such, fortunately, is not the condition of all the labourers in the agricultural districts; but it is the condition of a very great number of Englishmen—not in the backwoods of a remote settlement, but in the heart of Anglo-Saxon civilization, in the year of grace 1849.”

Bad, however, as is all this, it is likely to be worse. Everywhere, notices are being given of a reduction of wages, and diminution in the number of persons to be employed. There is scarcely, says the writer, a district in any of these counties “where the work of reducing wages has not already commenced.” In one of them, as early as last June, there was a reduction from 8s. to 7s., and “apprehensions are everywhere entertained that they will be reduced to 6s.==\$1.44.” “Is it any wonder,” he adds, “that, with such a prospect before them, the agricultural labourers should brood over their circumstances with the ominous sullenness of despair? What is that prospect? The winter is approaching—the season when most is required by us all to administer to our comforts. They are entering upon that season with here 8s., there 6s., and there again but 5s.

a week for the support of their families. How far will these pitiful portions go in households of five, six, seven, eight, nine, or ten individuals? We cannot, in estimating a labourer's comforts at any given time, apply to them the test of his average wages. It is his wages for the time being that decide the measure of his condition. Had he at any time more than was necessary to carry him and his family up to the line of comfort, he might lay by the surplus for adverse times. But he never has what secures him perfect comfort, and is always more than tempted to spend all he gets. He therefore commences this winter, as he does every winter, without any reserve-fund to fall back upon; and the fact is appalling that, in this month of October, thousands of families in the very heart of England have no better prospect before them than that of living on 8s., 6s., and even 5s. a week, in their cold, damp, cheerless, and unhealthy homes."

The Canadian farmer is invited to contend in the market of England with the serf of Russia for the privilege of supplying with food men to whom a morsel of bacon on a Sunday is a luxury, when by the simple process of annexation and protection he could bring to his side the same men and convert them into large and valuable customers. The planter is invited to contend in the market of England for the privilege of clothing men who want means to buy bread, when by an exercise of his will he could bring to his side, annually, millions of the same men, each of whom would then require twenty pounds a year, two millions consuming half as much as was consumed in 1847 by almost thirty millions of the people of England and Wales.

The system of England demands that with such people as these we shall establish a community of goods. Were it allowed free play—were the people of the world to establish what is called free trade, and thus unite their efforts for the maintenance of *the monopoly system*, wages universally would fall to the level of those of the poorest countries of the world, for with every step those of England would, of necessity, fall, because they must be kept at that point which would enable her people to underwork the world, and the tendency everywhere would be, as it

has been in Ireland and India, downward. The adoption of perfect free trade by this country would, for a short time, produce some activity there, but a very short period would prove that we bought far less under free trade than we had done with protection, and in the mean time the disproportion of the English population would have largely increased, and the difficulty would be then far greater than it is now, great even as it is. We now *pay for* far less merchandise than we did three years since, and were it not that we are still able to buy on credit, we should make smaller demands on England than we have done at any period since 1842. The greater the amount of capital thus lent to us, the lower must fall the condition of the English labourer. Every step now being made by England is a step downwards, and if we would not have our labourers reduced to a level with hers we must, by protection, endeavour to raise hers to a level with ours, as it will do by relieving us from the necessity for *dependence* upon commerce with a people whose labour is lower in the scale than our own. It tends to raise the value of man abroad and at home, and to enable all to obtain *more* food, fuel, and clothing with *less* labour. Under it immigration has always increased, and it has declined with its diminution. That it must tend to raise wages abroad is obvious from the fact that so many hundreds of thousands of the population of Europe, held to be surplus, have sought our shores, thus diminishing the quantity of labour seeking there to be employed.

With the approach to what is called freedom of trade, that system which tends to the maintenance of the monopoly of machinery in England, the value of labour here is falling towards the level of that of England. The present diminished production of coal and iron is maintained only by aid of a great diminution of wages. Labour is becoming surplus, and immigration is already falling off. This year will show a large diminution therein, and every step in that direction must be attended with a rise of freights tending to diminish the power to export either food or cotton. With the diminution of wages at the North, there is already a diminished power to consume either food or clothing, with increase in the surplus that is to be sent. Thus the same measures that increase the *necessity* for depending on machinery of transportation diminish the

power to obtain it, to the deterioration of the condition of the whole body of the people, labourers and capitalists, farmers and planters, manufacturers and ship-owners; and the same which tend to diminish our necessities for depending thereon, tend to increase our power to obtain it, to diminish the burden now pressing upon the land-owners and labourers of Europe, and to bring about that state of things which shall give to us and them perfect freedom of trade. The harmony of all interests, whether individual or national, becomes more and more obvious the more the subject is examined.

It may not be uninstrusive to review the last few years, with special reference to the discords that have occasionally been seen to exist between the employers and the employed, accompanied by strikes, combinations, &c., with a view to show their cause.

It is within the recollection of most of my readers that the years from 1836 to 1839 were distinguished for disturbances of this kind. The cause is obvious. Production was diminishing, and the labourer found himself unable to obtain the quantity of food, fuel, and clothing to which he had been accustomed. He desired a rise of money-wages to meet the rise in the price of food, but the employer could not give it, and hence arose combinations for the purpose of compelling him to do so.

From 1844 to 1848, harmony was restored, because production increased, and the labourer found that each year enabled him to obtain more food and clothing, and better shelter, with the same labour.

The last year has been marked by a succession of combinations. In the coal region of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburgh, Lowell, and various other places, there have been strikes and turn-outs, some of them long-continued; and everywhere there have been clamours for the passage of laws restricting the hours of labour; but those who thus clamoured desired that wages should remain as they were. These things all result from the one great fact that the productiveness of labour is diminishing, and that wages are tending towards the European level.

To that cause was due the jealousy of foreigners which gave rise to the “native” party. In 1842, employment was almost unattainable, and the native workmen were indisposed to divide with strangers the little that was to be had. With the increased productiveness of labour wages rose, and the “native” party almost died out, while the import of foreigners was quadrupled. If the system of 1846 be continued, the same jealousy will re-appear, and foreigners will be proscribed, while immigration will be diminished.

It is to the interest of the native workmen that the wages of Europe should be brought up to a level with our own, and the only way in which that can be accomplished is for us to pursue a course that shall tend to render it the interest of every man in Europe that can find means to pay his passage to endeavour to reach our shores. Every one that comes will be a producer of something, and every one therefore a customer to others for their products. Look where we may, there is the most perfect harmony of interest.

* November 12, 1849.

Chapter Twentieth. HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS WOMAN.

WITH every increase in the value of labour and land, the condition of woman is improved. With every improvement in her condition, she has more leisure to devote to the care of her children, and to fitting them worthily to fill their station in society, giving value to labour and land. If protection be “a war upon labour and capital,” it must tend to

diminution in the value of labour and land, and to deterioration in the condition of the weaker sex. How far that is the case we may now examine.

Throughout a large portion of this country, the time of women is almost entirely valueless. They would gladly work if they could, but there is no employment but that on the farm, for which they are not fitted. Place in every county of the Union a mill, and there will thus be produced a demand for that now surplus labour, and the workers in the mill will obtain more and better food and clothing, and they will be able to obtain more and better clothing, and education, and books by which to improve their minds, and fit them to fill the station of mothers, to which they will then be called. For want of local employment the young men are forced to seek the cities, or to fly to the West, and thousands and tens of thousands of women remain at home unmarried, while other thousands also seek the cities in search of employment, and terminate their career as prostitutes, because unable to compete with the “cheap” labour of the unhappy subjects of the following article, which I take from one of the newspapers of the day:—

“ The distressed needle-women of London have been made the object of a commission of inquiry instituted by the Morning Chronicle. Three gentlemen well known in literature have examined the state of this unfortunate class, and the result is, that there lives in London a body of about 33,000 women permanently at the starvation point; working at the wages of a few pence a day.

The greater portion of these poor creatures, living, as they do, far beyond the social state, resort to prostitution, as a means of eking out their miserable subsistence; whenever the pressure threatens their extinction, then they turn into the street, and pauperism runs into inevitable vice. Since the disclosures of the Morning Chronicle, many humane persons have forwarded considerable sums of money to the office of that journal for distribution among the most necessitous objects; and Mr. Sidney Herbert has come forward to found a society for promoting their

emigration. There is something like half a million of women in excess of men in Great Britain; there is a corresponding excess of males in the British Australian Colonies. The society above mentioned aims to bring these marriageable parties in contact; and it is hoped, that when once it is in operation, government will assist it with funds. It costs some £15 to transport a passenger to Australia. Now, if private benevolence raises a sum of £30,000, this will only relieve 2000 of the sufferers: a mere fraction, whose absence would not be sensible in the metropolis. It would require ten times that amount to lade out the misery to the proper extent, and also to satisfy the wants of the colonists.”

“Commerce is king,” and such are his female subjects. To the same level must fall all those who are under the necessity of competing with them, and such are even now the results of the approach to the system that looks to the maintenance of the English monopoly as being freedom of trade. The compensation for female labour is miserably small, even now, but it must fall far lower when we shall be called upon to settle the account for the modicum of iron, wool, silk, and earthenware that we receive in exchange for all our cotton, tobacco, rice, flour, pork, cheese, butter, *and evidences of debt*.

“ So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it.”

Such was the first command of God to man on earth, and, as he does or does not comply with it, he is found a moral or immoral being. If the association of man with his fellow-man tend to the elevation of character and to the promotion of civilization, how infinitely more is such the result of that intimate association resulting from obedience to the command, “Be fruitful and multiply.” The relation of husband and wife, and that of parent and child, are both essential to the development of all that is good and kind, gentle and thoughtful. The desire to provide for the wife and the child prompts the husband to labour, for the purpose of

acquiring the means of present support, and to economy as a means of preparation for the future. The desire to provide for the husband and the children prompts the wife to exertions that would otherwise have been deemed impossible, and to sacrifices that none but a wife or a mother could make.

The modern school of political economy says, “Be not fruitful; do not multiply. Population tends to increase faster than food.” It prescribes disobedience to the earliest of God’s commands. Obedience thereto, in those who are poor, is denounced as improvidence; and to those who are so improvident as to marry, “with no provision for the future, no sure and ample support even for the present,” it is thought “important to pronounce distinctly that, on no principle of social right or justice, have they any claim to share the earnings or the savings of their more prudent, more energetic, more self-denying fellow-citizens.”^[1] To have a wife for whom to labour, and with whom to enjoy the fruits of labour, is a luxury, abstinence from which is placed high among the virtues. To have children to develop all the kindly and provident feelings of the parents, is a crime worthy of punishment. Charity is denounced as tending to promote the growth of population. To rent land at less than the full price, is an error, because it tends to increase the number to be fed. To clear the land of thousands whose ancestors have lived and died on the spot, is “improvement.” Cottage allotments are but places for breeding paupers.

Southey denounced the Byronian school of poetry as “satanic,” and so may we fairly do with the school of political economy that has grown out of the colonial system, and the desire to make of England “the workshop of the world.” It teaches every thing but Christianity, and that any feelings of kindness towards those who are so unfortunate as to be poor should still remain in England, is due to the fact that those who teach it have not in their doctrine sufficient faith to practise what they preach.

The direct tendency of the existing monopoly of machinery which it is the object of *free trade* to maintain, is towards barbarism. It drives

hundreds of thousands of Englishmen to abandon mothers, wives, and sisters, and barbarize themselves in the wilderness, while of those who remain behind a large portion are too poor to marry, the consequences of which are seen in the immense extent of prostitution and the perpetual occurrence of child murder. In this country it is the same. Of the almost hundreds of thousands of men who have fled to the wilds of Oregon or California, a vast portion would have remained at home with mothers and sisters had the consumer been allowed to take his place by the side of the producer, as he would long since have done, but for the existence of this most unnatural system.

Among the women of the world, there is a perfect harmony of interests. It is to the interest of all that the condition of all should be elevated, and such must be the result of an increase in the value of labour. The object of protection is that of raising throughout the world the value of man, and thus improving the condition of woman. Every woman, therefore, who has at heart the elevation of her fellow-women throughout the world, should advocate the cause of protection.

Chapter Twenty-First.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS MORALS.

THE moral man is sensible of the duties he owes to his wife, his children, society, and himself. He frequents neither taverns nor gaming-houses. His place is home.

The more perfect the morality the more productive will be the labour of a community, and the greater will be the power of its members to improve their moral and intellectual condition. If protection be “a war upon labour and capital,” it must tend to the deterioration of morality and the diminution of the reward of labour.

The more equal the division of a community between the sexes, the greater will be the power to contract matrimony, and the higher will be morality. The monopoly system tends to expel the men and produce inequality in the number of the sexes, and thus to diminish the power to contract matrimony, thereby producing a tendency to immorality. The object of protection is to enable men to remain at home, and thus bring about equality, which cannot exist where the tendency to dispersion exists.

The more men can remain at home, the better they can perform their duties to their children. The monopoly system tends to compel them to perform their exchanges in distant markets and to separate themselves from wives and children. The object of protection is to bring the consumer to take his place by the side of the producer, and enable them to effect their exchanges at home.

The more directly the consumer exchanges with the producer, the less will be the disposition and the power to commit frauds. The farmer of Illinois has no object in adulterating his corn, because corn is cheap; but the miller of England mixes beans with the corn, because corn is dear. The planter of Alabama would gain nothing by substituting flour for cotton, because the latter is cheap; but the manufacturer of England does so because cotton is dear. The coffee planter delivers coffee. The English shopkeeper substitutes chicory for coffee, because the latter is dear. The inducement to fraud in these cases results from the distance between the producer and the consumer, which it is the object of protection to diminish. The shoemaker makes good shoes for his customers; but he makes indifferent ones for the traders who deal with persons that are distant. The gunsmith furnishes to his neighbours guns that will stand the proof; but when he makes others to be sold in Africa, he cares little if they burst at the first fire. The necessity for maintaining the monopoly of machinery now enjoyed by England leads to frauds and forgeries of every description, with a view to displace the foreign produce and deceive the foreign producer.^[2] The *power* to commit frauds thus results from the distance between the consumer and the

producer. Protection looks to bringing them near together, and thus diminishing that power.

The planter who exchanges on the spot with the iron-master and the miller, makes large crops and grows rich, and the gain resulting from successful frauds would be trifling compared with the loss of character. The one who is distant from both makes small crops, which are sensibly increased in amount by the substitution of stones in lieu of cotton or tobacco. The *inducement* to commit frauds here results from the distance between the consumer and the producer, and is diminished as the loom and the anvil come nearer to the plough and the harrow.

The man who makes his exchanges in distant markets spends much time on the road and in taverns, and is liable to be led into dissipation. The more he can effect his exchanges at home, the less is the danger of any such result. The object of the monopoly system is that of compelling him to effect all his exchanges at a distance, and to employ for that purpose numerous wagoners, porters, sailors, and other persons, most of whom have scarcely any home except the tavern.

The more uniform the standard of value, the less does trade resemble gambling. The object of the monopoly system is to subject the produce of the world to a standard of the most variable kind, and to render agriculture, manufactures, and trade, mere gambling. The object of protection is to withdraw the produce of the world from that standard, enabling every community to measure the products of its labour by its own standard, giving labour for labour.

The object of the English system is to promote *centralization*, and its necessary consequence is that of compelling the dispersion of man in search of food.^[3] London and Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, have grown with vast rapidity by the same system which has exhausted Ireland, India, and the West Indies. The same journal informs us of the construction of a new town opposite Liverpool, of the great additions to London, and of the absolute necessity for promoting emigration from Ireland, Scotland, and even from England. As each successive province

is exhausted, there arises a desire, and even a necessity for adding to the list. Bengal and Bombay having ceased to be productive, Affghanistan is attempted, and the Punjaub is conquered. The ruin of the West Indies is followed by an invasion of China, for the purpose of compelling the Chinese to perfect freedom of trade. The Highlands are depopulated, and Australia is colonized.

Mr. Jefferson held great cities to be “[great sores](#).” He desired that the manufacturer should take his place [by the side of](#) the agriculturist—that the loom and the anvil should be in close proximity to the plough and the harrow. Mr. Jefferson looked and thought for himself. He had studied political economy before it became necessary for Mr. Malthus to invent a theory of population that should satisfactorily account for the scarcity of food under the unnatural policy of England, and thus relieve the law-makers of that country from all charge of mis-government. He studied, too, before Mr. Ricardo had invented a theory of rent, for the maintenance of which it was necessary to prove that the poor cultivator, beginning the work of settlement, always commenced upon the rich soils—the swamps and river-bottoms—and that with the progress of population he had recourse to the poor soils of the hills, yielding a constantly diminishing return to labour—and therefore it was that he thought for himself. Modern financiers have blindly adopted the English system, based on the theories of Malthus and Ricardo, and the perfection of civilization is now held to be found in that system which shall most rapidly build up great cities, and most widely separate the manufacturer from the agriculturist. The more perfect the centralization, the greater, according to them, will be the tendency towards improvement.

Mr. Jefferson was in favour of combined action, as being that which would most tend to promote human improvement, physical, moral, intellectual, and political. That it does so, would seem to be obvious, as it is where combination of action most exists that men live best and are best instructed—commit least crimes, and think most for themselves. There, too, there exists the strongest desire to have protection.

A recent traveller^[4] in the United States, says that “the facility with which every people conscientiously accommodate their speculative opinions to their local and individual interests, is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact, that the several States and sections of States, as they successively embark in the manufacture, whether of iron, cotton, or other articles, become immediately converts to protectionist views, against which they had previously declaimed.”

It is here supposed that the desire for protection results from a selfish desire to tax others, but the persons exclusively devoted to manufactures of any kind are too few in number to affect the elections, and yet wherever mills or furnaces are established, the majority of the people become advocates of the doctrine of protection, and that majority mainly consists of agriculturists,—farmers and planters. Why it is so, may be found in the fact that they experience the benefits resulting from making a market on the land for the products of the land, and desire that their neighbours may do the same. Ignorant selfishness would induce them to desire to retain for themselves the advantage they had gained. Enlightened selfishness would induce them to teach others that which they themselves had learned.

Ignorant selfishness is the characteristic of the savage. It disappears as men acquire the habit of association with their neighbour men. The proclaimed object of the monopoly system is that of producing a necessity for scattering ourselves over large surfaces, and thus increasing the difficulty of association, and the object is attained. “The prospect of heaven itself,” says Cooper, in one of his novels, “would have no charm for an American of the backwoods, if he thought there was any place further west.”

Such is the common impression. It is believed that men separate from each other because of something in their composition that tends to produce a desire for flying to wild lands, there probably to perish of fever, brought on by exposure, and certainly to leave behind them all that tends to make life desirable. Such is not the character of man

anywhere. He is everywhere disposed to remain at home, when he can, and if the farmers and planters of the Union can be brought to understand their true interests, at home he will remain, and doing so, his condition and that of all around him, will be improved. The habit of association is necessary to the improvement of man. With it comes the love of the good and the beautiful. "I wish," says the author of a recent agricultural address, "that we could create a general passion for gardening and horticulture. We want," he continues, "more beauty about our houses. The scenes of childhood are the memories of our future years. Let our dwellings be beautified with plants and flowers. Flowers are, in the language of a late cultivator, 'the playthings of childhood and the ornaments of the grave; they raise smiling looks to man and grateful ones to God.'"

We do want more beauty about our houses, and not only about our houses but about our minds, and that it may be obtained, we must rid ourselves of a system which makes the producer the servant of the exchanger. Such is the object of protection.

It is most truly said that "there is no friendship in trade." As now carried on, it certainly does not tend to promote kindly feelings among the human race, nor can it do so while the system remains unchanged. The great object of traders appears to be the production of discord. By so doing, England has obtained the supreme control of India. Her journals are unceasingly engaged in sowing discord among the various portions of this Union, and the effort would be successful were it not that there is no real discordance in their true interests.

It is time that the people of Great Britain should open their eyes to the fact that their progress is in the same direction in which have gone the communities of Athens, and Rome, and every other that has desired to support itself by the labour of others. It is time that they should awake to the fact that the numerous and splendid gin-shops, the perpetual recurrence of childmurder for the purpose of plundering burial societies, and the enormous increase of crime^[5] and pauperism, are but the natural

consequence of a system that tends to drive capital from the land, to be employed in spindles and ships, and labour from the healthful and inspiring pursuits of the country, to seek employment in Liverpool and Manchester, where severe labour in the effort to underwork the poor Hindoo, and drive him from his loom, is rewarded with just sufficient to keep the labourer from starving in the lanes and cellars with which those cities so much abound.

That “there is no friendship in trade,” is most true, and yet trade is the deity worshipped in this school. In it “commerce is king,” and yet to commerce we owe much of the existing demoralization of the world. The anxiety to sell cheap induces the manufacturer to substitute cotton for silk, and flour for cotton, and leads to frauds and adulterations of every description. Bankruptcy and loss of honour follow in the train of its perpetual revulsions. To obtain intelligence an hour beforehand of an approaching famine, and thus to be enabled to buy corn at less than it is worth, or to hear in advance of the prospect of good harvests, and to sell it at more than it is worth, is but an evidence of superior sagacity. To buy your coat in the cheapest market, careless what are the sufferings of the poor tailor, and sell your grain in the dearest, though your neighbour may be starving, is the cardinal principle of this school.

A very slight examination will suffice to convince the reader that, as has been already shown, these frauds and overreachings increase in the ratio of the distance between the consumer and the producer. The food that has travelled far is dear, and worthy to be mixed with beans. The cotton produced in remote lands is dear, and it is profitable to mix it with flour. The shoemaker who supplies the auctions uses poor leather, and employs poor workmen.^[6] The object of protection is that of bringing the consumer of food to the side of its producer, there to eat plenty of good and nourishing food; the consumer of cotton to the side of its producer that he may not need to wear a mixture of wool and paste; and the shoemaker to the side of the farmer and planter, that the latter may be supplied with “custom-work,” and not “slop-work.” By this he gains doubly. He gives less food, and gets better clothing in return. By so

doing, his own physical condition and the moral condition of the shoemaker are both improved.

The whole tendency of the system is to the production of a gambling spirit. In England, it makes railroad kings, ending in railroad bankrupts, like Henry Hudson. If we could trace the effect of the great speculation of which this man was the father, we should find thousands and tens of thousands of husbands and wives, parents and children, utterly beggared to build up the fortunes of the few, and thus increase the inequality of social condition which lies at the root of all evil. If we examine it here, we see it sending tens of thousands to California, eager for gold, there to lose both health and life.^[7] It is sending thousands of boys and girls to our cities—the former to become shopmen, and the latter prostitutes, while hundreds of thousands are at the same time making their way to the West, there to begin the work of cultivation, while millions upon millions of acres in the old States remain untouched. With every step of our progress in that direction, social inequality tends to increase. The skilful speculator realizes a fortune by the same operation that ruins hundreds around him, and adds to his fortune by buying their property under the hammer of the sheriff. The wealthy manufacturer is unmoved by revulsions in the British market which sweep away his competitors, and, when the storm blows over, he is enabled to double, treble, or quadruple, his already overgrown fortune. The consequence is, that great manufacturing towns spring up in one quarter of the Union, while almost every effort to *localize* manufactures (thus bringing the loom and the anvil really to the side of the plough and the harrow) is followed by ruin. The system tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The coal miner of the present year works for half wages, but the coal speculator obtains double profits, and thus is it ever—the producer is sacrificed to the exchanger. With the growth of the exchanging class, great cities rise up, filled with shops, at which men can cheaply become intoxicated. New York has 4567 places at which liquor is sold, and the *Five-Points* are peopled with the men who make Astor-place riots. Single merchants employ 160 clerks, while thousands of those who are forced into our cities and seek to obtain a living by trade are

ruined. Opera singers receive large salaries paid by the contributions of men whose shirts are made by women whose wages scarcely enable them to live.

The whole system of trade, as at present conducted, and as it must continue to be conducted if the colonial system be permitted longer to exist, is one of mere gambling, and of all qualities, that which most distinguishes the gambler is ignorant selfishness. He ruins his friends and wastes his winnings on a running-horse, or on a prostitute. To what extent this has been the characteristic of the men who have figured most largely in the walks of commerce, might be determined by those who are familiar with the concerns of many of the persons described in the following passage, which I take from one of the journals of the day:

“ The great merchants of this great mercantile city, who were looked up to with reverence by the mammon-worshipping crowd twenty years ago—where are they? Ask Stephen Whitney and those few who have with him survived the shock of thirty years’ changes, and they will tell you, in commercial language, that 93 or 95 per cent. of their contemporaries at that date have since become bankrupt, and that the widows of most of those deceased are either “keeping boarding-houses” or have left friendless orphans to “the tender mercies” of a commercial world.

“ Look at the ephemeral creatures of this and last year’s accidents, who now figure largely in the great world of New York, whether in the wholesale or retail line—whether in commerce, fashion, theatricals or religion—and ask where and what they or their children are likely to be twenty-years hence. The answer will be such as none of those most deeply in it will be apt to give with precise or probable correctness. ‘They shall heap up riches and know not who shall gather them;’ ‘they shall build houses and know not who shall inhabit them;’ ‘they shall plant vineyards and shall not eat the fruit of them;’ they shall ‘call their lands after their own names,’ and a generation shall rise up and possess them who shall laugh those names

into a contempt from which the oblivion that shall succeed will seem a happy deliverance.”—*N.Y. Herald*.

As a necessary consequence of the system, money becomes more and more an object of consideration in the contraction of the important engagement of matrimony, and marriage settlements begin to appear among us. The newspapers of the day inform us of the recent execution of one for \$200,000.

If we look westward, it is the same. Centralization produces depopulation, and that is followed by poverty and crime. London grows upon the system that ruins India and fills it with bands of plunderers. The West and South-west are filled with gamblers, and land-pirates abound. The late war has brought into existence a new species of fraud, in the counterfeiting of land-warrants, and this is but one of the many evils resulting from that measure.

If we look back but a few years, we may see that the period between 1835 and 1843 was remarkable for the existence of crime, and it was that one in which the tendency to dispersion most existed. If we now look to the period between 1843 and 1847, we can see that there was a gradual tendency to the restoration of order and quiet and morality throughout the Union. In the last year, we may see the reverse. It was marked by turnouts, insubordination and violence of various kinds in country and in city. Such is the direct consequence of a diminution in the productiveness of labour. The employer must pay less, and the employed is unwilling to receive less than that to which he has been accustomed.

The tendency of the colonial system is to increase the number of wagons and wagoners, ships and sailors, merchants and traders, the men who necessarily spend much time in hotels and taverns, living by exchanging the products of others. The tendency of protection is to increase the number of producers—of the class that lives at home, surrounded by wives, children, and friends. The one builds up the city at the expense of the country; the other causes both to grow together.

Cities are rivals for trade, and when the farmer desires a new road to market he is opposed, lest it should enable him to go more cheaply to Charleston than Savannah; to New York more readily than to Philadelphia. London is jealous of Liverpool, and Liverpool of London. Discord is everywhere, and the smaller the amount of production, the greater must it necessarily be. Protection seeks to increase production, and thus establish harmony.

It is asserted that protection tends to increase smuggling, and therefore to deteriorate morals. To determine this question, it would be required only to ascertain what description of men transact business at our custom-houses. From 1830 to 1834, the chief part was done by men who had homes occupied by wives and families, for whose sake reputation was dear, but from 1835 to 1842, it passed almost entirely into the hands of men who lived in hotels and boarding-houses, and who had neither wives nor families to maintain. From 1843 to 1847, it went back to the former class. It has now returned almost entirely into the hands of agents—men whose business is trade, and who swear to a false invoice for a commission. The honest man, who desires to perform his duties to his wife and children, to society, to his country, and to his Creator, cannot import foreign merchandise. The system is a premium on immorality and fraud.

The object of protection is the establishment of perfect free trade, by the annexation of men and of nations. Every man brought here increases the domain of free trade, and diminishes the necessity for custom-houses. Every man brought here consumes four, six, ten, or twelve pounds of cotton for one that he could consume at home, and every one is a customer to the farmer for bushels instead of gills. Between the honest and intelligent man who desires to see the establishment of *real* free-trade, the Christian who desires to see an improvement in the standard of morality, the planter who desires an increased market for his cotton, the farmer who desires larger returns to his labour, the landowner who desires to see an increase in the value of his land, and the labourer

who desires to sell his labour at the highest price, there is perfect harmony of interest.

Chapter Twenty-Second.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS INTELLECTUAL CONDITION.

THE higher the degree of intellect applied to the work of production, the larger will be the return to labour, and the more rapid will be the accumulation of capital. If protection be “a war upon labour and capital,” it must tend to prevent the growth of intellect.

The more men are enabled to combine their efforts, and the greater the tendency to association, the larger is the return to labour, and the more readily can they obtain books and newspapers for themselves, and schools for their children. The object of the monopoly system is that of compelling men to scatter themselves over large surfaces, and into distant colonies, and thus to diminish the power of obtaining books, newspapers and schools. The object of protection is the correction of this error, and to enable men to combine their efforts for mental as well as physical improvement.

The greater the tendency to association, the greater is the facility for the dissemination of new ideas in regard to modes of thought or action, and for obtaining aid in carrying them into practical effect. The object of *the English monopoly system* is that of separating men from each other, and depriving them of this advantage. The object of protection is to enable them to come together, and being so, it would seem to be the real friend to both labourer and capitalist.

If we look throughout the world we shall see intellect increasing as men live more and more in communion with each other, and diminishing as

they are compelled to separate. The man who is distant from market spends much of his time in taverns, where he obtains little tending to the improvement of mind or morals. The man who has a market at his door, may obtain books and newspapers, and he is surrounded by skilful farmers, from whom he obtains information. Not being compelled to spend his time on the road, he is enabled to give both time and mind to the improvement of his land, to which he returns the refuse in the form of manure, and thus it is that he himself grows rich.

Of all the pursuits of man, agriculture—the work of production—is the one that most tends to the expansion of intellect. It is the great pursuit of man. There is none “in which so many of the laws of nature must be consulted and understood as in the cultivation of the earth. Every change of the season, every change even of the winds, every fall of rain, must affect some of the manifold operations of the farmer. In the improvement of our various domestic animals, some of the most abstruse principles of physiology must be consulted. Is it to be supposed that men thus called upon to study, or to observe the laws of nature, and labour in conjunction with its powers, require less of the light of the highest science than the merchant or the manufacturer?”^[8] It is not. It is the science that requires the greatest knowledge, *and the one that pays best for it*: and yet England has *driven* man, and wealth, and mind, into the less profitable pursuits of fashioning and exchanging the products of other lands: and has expended thousands of millions on fleets and armies to enable her to drive with foreign nations the poor trade, when her own soil offered her the richer one that tends to produce that increase of wealth and concentration of population which have in all times and in all ages given the self-protective power that requires neither fleets, nor armies, nor tax-gatherers. In her efforts to force this trade, she has driven the people of the United States to extend themselves over vast tracts of inferior land when they might more advantageously have concentrated themselves on rich ones: and she has thus delayed the progress of civilization abroad and at home. She has made it necessary for the people of grain-growing countries to rejoice in the deficiencies of her harvests, as affording them the outlet for surplus food that they could

not consume, and that was sometimes abandoned on the field as not worth the cost of harvesting; instead of being enabled to rejoice in the knowledge that others were likely to be fed as abundantly as themselves. Her internal system was unsound, and her wealth gave her power to make that unsoundness a cause of disturbance to the world; and hence she has appeared to be everywhere regarded as a sort of common enemy.

To this unsound system we are indebted for the very unsound ideas that exist in regard to the division of labour. Men are crowded into large towns and cities, to labour in great shops, where the only idea ever acquired is the pointing of a needle, and that is acquired at the cost of health and life. The necessary consequence is the general inferiority of physical, moral, and mental condition, that is observable in all classes of English workmen.

Of all machines, the most costly to produce is Man, and yet the duration of this expensive and beautiful machine is reduced to an average of twenty-five or thirty years, under the vain idea that by so doing pins and needles may be obtained at less cost of labour. The principle is the same that is said to govern the planter of Cuba when he stocks his estate exclusively with males, deeming it cheaper to buy slaves than to raise them. As a necessary consequence, the duration of life is there short, and so is it in the crowded factories of the great “workshop of the world.” The idea *is* vain. Pins and needles would be obtained at far less cost of labour were the workshops of Sheffield and of Birmingham scattered throughout the kingdom, thereby enabling the producers of pins to take their places by the side of the producers of food, and enabling all to enjoy the pure air and pure water of the village, instead of being compelled, after breathing the foul atmosphere of the workshop during the day, to retire at night to rest in the filthy cellar of the undrained street. Were the ore of Ireland converted into axes and railroad bars by aid of the coal and the labour of Ireland, the cellars of Manchester and Birmingham would not be filled with starving Irishmen, flying by hundreds of thousands from pestilence and famine, and

compelling the labourers of England to fly to the United States, Canada, or Australia.

The English school of political economy treats man as a *mere* machine, placed on the earth for the purpose of producing food, cloth, iron, pins, or needles, and takes no account of him as a being capable of intellectual and moral improvement. It looks for physical power in connection with ignorance and immorality, and the result is disappointment.^[9] The workman of this country is infinitely the superior of the workman of Manchester, and the reason is, that he is not treated as a mere machine. The object of what is called free trade is to degrade the one to the level of the other. The object of protection is that of enabling the poor artisan of Manchester or Leeds, Birmingham or Sheffield, to transfer himself to a country in which he will not be so treated, and in which he may have books and newspapers, and his children may be educated.

The colonial system involves an expenditure for ships of war, soldiers, and sailors, greater than would be required for giving to every child in the kingdom an education of the highest order; and those ships and men are supported out of the proceeds of taxes paid by poor mechanics and agricultural labourers, whose children grow up destitute even of the knowledge that there is a God. The object of protection is to do away with the necessity for such ships and men, and to raise the value of labour to such a point as will enable the people of England to provide schools for themselves.

In the colonies, the perpetual exhaustion of the land and its owner has forbidden, as it now forbids, the idea of intellectual improvement. To the West Indies no Englishmen went to remain. The plantations were managed by agents, and the poor blacks, under their agency, died so fast as to render necessary an annual importation merely to keep up the number. In India, where education was from the earliest period an object of interest to the government, and where every well-regulated village had its public school and its schoolmaster, in which information

was so well and so cheaply taught as to furnish the idea of the Lancaster system, it has almost disappeared. In the *thana* of Nattore, containing 184,509 inhabitants, there were, a few years since, but 27 schools, with 262 scholars. The teachers were simple-minded and ignorant, with salaries of \$2.50 per month, and the scholars were without books. The number who could read and write was 6000. Such was the state of education in one of the best portions of Bengal. In the Bombay presidency, with a population of six and a half millions, there were 25 government schools, with 1315 scholars, and 1680 village schools, with 33,838 scholars. In the Madras presidency, out of 13 millions, there were 355,000 male and 8000 female scholars, and the instruction was of the worst kind.

In Upper Canada, in 1848, the number of children, male and female, under fourteen years of age, was 326,050, of whom but 80,461 attended school.^[10] So far the state of things is better than in other colonies; but when we come to look further, the difference is not very great. The intellect of man is to be quickened by communion with his fellow-man, of which there can be but little where the loom is widely distant from the plough, and men are distant from each other, all engaged in the single pursuit of agriculture. How slow has been the growth of concentration in that province, may be seen from the following facts. Numerous small woollen mills furnish 584,008 yards of flannel and other inferior cloths, working up the produce of perhaps 250,000 sheep. Fulling mills exist, at which about 2,000,000 pounds of woollen cloths of household manufacture are fulled. Further, there are—

1 rope-walk.	11 pail factories.	1 ship-yard.	1 vinegar factory.
1 candle fac.	1 last factory.	1 trip hammer.	5 chair factories.
1 cement mill.	4 oil mills.	2 paper mills	2 brick-yards.
1 sal-eratus fac.	3 tobacco fac.		1 axe factory,
8 soap fac.	2 steam-engine fac.	3 potteries.	
3 nail factories.		1 comb fac.	6 plaster mills. ^[11]

And these constitute the whole of the manufacturing establishments of that great district of country, much of it so long settled. There is, consequently, little or no employment for mind, and the consequence is, that all who desire to engage in other pursuits than those of agriculture

fly to the South. There are now within the Union, it is said, not less than 200,000 Canadians, and with every day the tendency to emigration increases.^[12] If we look to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, it is the same. There is there no demand for intellect, and any man possessing it flies southward. Forty years since it was asked, “Who reads an American book?” That question has long since been answered; but it may now be repeated in reference to all the British provinces. Who reads a Canadian, a Nova-Scotian, or a New Brunswick book? Upper Canada has two paper-mills capable of producing about ten reams of paper per day, being, perhaps, a tenth of what is required to supply the newspapers of Cincinnati. Forty years since, the question might have been asked, “Who uses an American machine?” and yet the machine shops of Austria and Russia are now directed by our countrymen, and the latest improvements in machinery for the conversion of wool into cloth are of American invention. The British provinces have had the *advantage* of perfect free trade with England, the consequence of which is, that they are almost destitute of paper-mills and printing-offices, and machine shops are unknown, while the Union has been *a prey to the protective system*, that “war upon labour and capital,” the consequence of which is, that paper-mills and printing-offices abound to an extent unknown in the world, and almost equal in number and power to those of the whole world,^[13] and machine shops exist almost everywhere. These differences are not due to any difference in the abundance or quality of land, for that of Upper Canada is yet to a great extent unoccupied, and is in quality inferior to none on the continent. They are not due to difference in other natural advantages, for New Brunswick has every advantage possessed by Maine and New Hampshire, and Nova Scotia has coal and iron ore more advantageously situated than any in the Union. They are not due to difference of taxation, for Great Britain has paid almost all the expenses of government. To what, then, can they be attributed, but to the fact that those provinces have been subject to *the monopoly system*, and compelled to waste their own labour while giving their *products* in exchange for the *services* of English men, women, and children, employed in doing for them what they could have better done

themselves, and losing four-fifths of their products in the transit between the producer and the consumer? Place the colony within the Union—give it protection—and in a dozen years its paper-mills and its printing-offices will become numerous, and many will then read Canadian books.

In England, a large portion of the people can neither read nor write, and there is scarcely an effort to give them education. The colonial system looks to low wages, necessarily followed by an inability to devote time to intellectual improvement. Protection looks to the high wages that enable the labourer to improve his mind, and educate his children. The English child, transferred to this country, becomes an educated and responsible being. If he remains at home, he remains in brutish ignorance. To increase the productiveness of labour, education is necessary. Protection tends to the diffusion of education, and the elevation of the condition of the labourer.

At no period of our history has the demand for books and pictures, or the compensation of authors or artists, been less than in the period of 1842-43. At none have they grown so rapidly as from 1844 to 1847. They now tend downward, notwithstanding a demand that is still maintained by the power that yet exists of obtaining merchandise in exchange for certificates of debt. When that shall pass away, we shall see a recurrence of the events of the free trade period.

If we desire to raise the intellectual standard of man throughout the world, our object can be accomplished only by raising the value of man, as a machine, throughout the world. Every man brought here is raised, and every man so brought tends to diminish the supposed surplus of men elsewhere. Men come when the reward of labour is high, as they did between 1844 and 1848. They return disappointed when the reward of labour is small, as is now the case. Protection tends to increase the reward of labour, and to improve the intellectual condition of man.

Chapter Twenty-Third.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF MAN.

THE larger the return to labour, the greater will be the power to accumulate capital. The larger the proportion which capital seeking to be employed bears to the labourers who are to employ it, the larger will be the wages of labour, the greater the power of the labourer to accumulate for himself, and the more perfect will be his control over the disposition of his labour and the application of its proceeds, whether to private or to public purposes.

The freeman chooses his employer, sells his labour, and disposes of the proceeds at his pleasure. The slave does none of these things. His master takes the produce of his labour, and returns him such portion as suits his pleasure.

Throughout the world, and in all ages, freedom has advanced with every increase in the ratio of wealth to population. When the people of England were poor, they were enslaved, but with growing wealth they have become more free. So has it been in Belgium and in France. So is it now in Russia and Germany, and so must it everywhere be. India is poor, and the many are slaves to the few. So is it in Ireland. Freedom is there unknown. The poor Irishman, limited to the labours of agriculture, desires a bit of land, and he gives the chief part of the product of his year's labour for permission to starve upon the balance, happy to be permitted to remain on payment of this enormous rent. He is the slave of the land-owner, without even the slave's right to claim of him support in case of sickness, or if, escaping from famine, he should survive to an age that deprives him of the power of labouring for his support. England employs fleets, paid for out of taxes imposed on starving Irishmen, to prevent the people of Brazil from *buying* black men, and women, and children, on the coast of Africa, while holding herself ready to give *white* men, and women, and children, to any who will carry them from

her shores, and even to add thereto a portion of the cost of their transportation; and this she does without requiring the transporter to produce even the slightest evidence that they have been delivered at their destined port in “good order and well-conditioned.” When Ireland shall become rich, labour will become valuable, and man will become free. When Italy was filled with prosperous communities, labour was productive, and it was in demand; and then men who had it to sell fixed the price at which it should be sold. With growing poverty, labour ceased to be in demand, and the buyer fixed the price. The labourer then became a slave. If we follow the history of Tuscany, we can find men becoming enslaved as poverty succeeded wealth; and again may we trace them becoming more and more free, as wealth has grown with continued peace. So has it been in Egypt, and Sicily, and Spain. Everywhere poverty, or a deficiency of those aids to labour which constitute wealth, is, and has invariably been, the companion of slavery; and everywhere wealth, or an abundance of ploughs, and harrows, and horses, and cows, and oxen, and cultivated lands, and houses, and mills, is, and has invariably been the companion, and the cause, of freedom.

If protection be a “war upon labour and capital,” it must tend to prevent the growth of wealth, and thus to deteriorate the political condition of man.

The farmer who exchanges his food with the man who produces iron by means of horses, wagons, canal-boats, merchants, ships, and sailors, gives much food for little iron. The iron man, who exchanges his products for food through the instrumentality of the same machinery, gives much iron for little food. The chief part of the product is swallowed up by the men who stand between, and grow rich while the producers remain poor. The growth of wealth is thus prevented, and inequality of political condition is maintained.

The farmer who exchanges directly with the producer of iron gives labour for labour. Both thus grow rich, because the class that desires to

stand between has no opportunity of enriching themselves at their expense. Equality of condition is thus promoted.

The object of protection is that of bringing the consumer of food to take his place by the side of the producer of food, and thus promoting the growth of wealth and the improvement of political condition. That it does produce that effect, is obvious from the fact that, in periods of protection, such vast numbers seek our shores, and that immigration becomes stationary, or diminishes, with every approach towards that system which is usually denominated free trade.

The colonial system is based upon cheap labour. Protection seeks to increase the reward of labour. The one fills factories with children of tender years, and expels men to Canada and Australia; the other unites the men and sends the children to school.

The Irishman at home is a slave. He prays for permission to remain and pay in pounds sterling for quarters of acres, and his request is refused. Transfer him here and he becomes a freeman, choosing his employer and fixing the price of his labour. The Highlander is a slave that would gladly remain at home; but he is expelled to make room for sheep. One-ninth of the population of England are slaves to the parish beadle, eating the bread of enforced charity, and a large portion of the remaining eight-ninths are slaves to the policy which produces a constant recurrence of chills and fevers—overwork at small wages at one time, and no work at any wages at another. Transfer them here and they become freemen, selecting their employers and fixing the hours and the reward of labour. The Hindoo is a slave. His landlord's officers fix the quantity of land that he must cultivate, and the rent he must pay. He is not allowed, on payment even of the high survey assessment fixed on each field, to cultivate only those fields to which he gives the preference; his task is assigned to him, and he is constrained to occupy all such fields as are allotted to him by the revenue officers, and whether he cultivates them or not, he is saddled with the rent of all. If driven by these oppressions to fly and seek a subsistence elsewhere, he is followed

wherever he goes and oppressed at discretion, or deprived of the advantages he might expect from a change of residence. If he work for wages, he is paid in money when grain is high, and in grain when it is low. He, therefore, has no power to determine the price of his labour. Could he be transferred here, he would be found an efficient labourer, and would consume more cotton in a week than he now does in a year, and by the change his political condition would be greatly improved.

Protection looks to the improvement of the political condition of the human race. To accomplish that object, it is needed that the value of man be raised, and that men should everywhere be placed in a condition to sell their labour to the highest bidder—to the man who will give in return the largest quantity of food, clothing, shelter, and other of the comforts of life. To enable the Hindoo to sell his labour and to fix its price, it is necessary to raise the price of his chief product, cotton. That is to be done by increasing the consumption, and that object is to be attained by diminishing the waste of labour attendant upon its transit between the producer and the consumer. Fill this country with furnaces and mills, and railroads will be made in every direction, and the consumption of cotton will speedily rise to twenty pounds per head, while millions of European labourers, mechanics, farmers, and capitalists will cross the Atlantic, and every million will be a customer for one-fourth as much as was consumed by the people of Great Britain and Ireland in 1847. The harmony of the interests of the cotton-growers throughout the world is perfect, and all the discord comes from the power of the exchangers to produce apparent discord.

It is asserted, however, that protection tends to build up a body of capitalists at the expense of the consumer, and thus produce inequality of condition. That such is the effect of *inadequate* protection is not to be doubted. So long as we continue under a *necessity* for seeking in England a market for our surplus products, her markets will fix the price for the world, and so long as we shall continue to be under a necessity for seeking there a small supply of cloth or iron, so long will the prices

in her markets fix the price of all, and the domestic producer of cloth and iron will profit by the difference of freight both out and home. With this profit he takes the risk of ruin, which is of perpetual occurrence among the men of small capitals. Those who are already wealthy have but to stop their furnaces or mills until prices rise, and then they have the markets to themselves, for their poorer competitors have been ruined. Such is the history of many of the large fortunes accumulated by the manufacture of cloth and iron in this country, and such the almost universal history of every effort to establish manufactures south and west of New England.

Inadequate and uncertain protection benefits the farmer and planter little, while the uncertainty attending it tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, thus producing social and political inequality.

Adequate and certain protection, on the contrary, tends to the production of equality—first, because by its aid the *necessity* for depending on foreign markets for the sale of our products, or the supply of our wants, will be brought to an end, and thenceforth the prices, being fixed at home, will be steady, and then the smaller capitalist will be enabled to maintain competition with the larger one, with great advantage to the consumers—farmers, planters, and labourers; and, second, because its benefits will be, as they always have been, felt chiefly by the many with whom the price of labour constitutes the sole fund out of which they are to be maintained.

If we take the labour that is employed in the factories of the country, from, one extremity to the other, it will be found that nearly the whole of it would be waste, if not so employed. If we take that which is employed in getting: out the timber and the stone for building factories and furnaces, it will be found that a large portion of it would otherwise be waste. If we inquire into the operations of the farmer, we find that the vicinity of a factory, or furnace, enables him to save much of the labour of transportation, and to sell many things that would otherwise be

waste. Thus far, the advantage would seem to be all on the side of the employed, and not on that of the employer.

Let us now suppose that all protection were abolished, and that perfect freedom of trade were established, and that the result were, as it inevitably would be, to close every factory, furnace, rolling mill, and coal-mine in the country, and see what would be the result. The owners of such property would lose a few millions of dollars of rents, or profits, but the supply of fuel would be less by three millions of tons, that of iron would be less by eight hundred thousand tons, and that of cotton cloth would be less by almost a thousand millions of yards. The demand for the labour now employed in the production of those commodities would be at an end, and the spare-labour of men, and women, and children, and wagons, and horses, and the various things now used in and about factories and furnaces, would then be wasted, coal and iron and cloth would be doubled in price, and labour would be diminished in a corresponding degree. The power to import iron, or coal, or cloth, would not be increased by a single ton, or yard, and the people would be compelled to dispense with necessities of life that are now readily obtained. The capitalists, whose means were locked up in factories or furnaces, would suffer some loss; but the mass of persons possessed of disengaged capital, and the receivers of *State* dividends, would be able to command, for the same reward, a much larger quantity of labour than before.

The object of protection is that of securing a demand for labour, and its tendency is to produce equality of condition. The jealousy of “overgrown capitalists” has caused many changes of policy; but, so far as they have tended to the abolition of protection, they have invariably tended to the production of inequality. The wealthy capitalist suffers some loss; but he is not ruined. A change takes place, and he is ready to avail himself of it, and at once regains all that had been lost, with vast increase. The small capitalist has been swept away, and his mill is in a state of ruin. By the time he can prepare himself to recommence his

business, the chance being past, he is swept away again, and perhaps for the last time.

For months past, the rate of interest on a certain species of securities has been very low. The wealthy man could borrow at four per cent.; the poor man, requiring a small loan on a second-rate security, could scarcely obtain it at any price. The man who has coal to sell, or iron to sell, must have the aid of middlemen to act as endorsers upon the paper received from his customers, and their commissions absorb the profits. The wages of the miner have been greatly reduced, while the profits of the speculator have been increased. The reason of all this is, that, throughout the nation, there prevails no confidence in the future. It is seen that we are consuming more than we produce; that our exports do not pay for our imports; that we are running in debt; that furnaces and mills are being closed; and every one knows what must be the end of such a system. Re-enact the tariff of 1842, and the trade of the middleman would be at an end, because confidence in the future would be felt from one extremity of the land to the other. Should we not find in this some evidence of the soundness of the principle upon which it was based? The system which gives confidence must be right; that which destroys it must be wrong.

Confidence in the future—Hope—gives power to individuals and communities. It is that which enables the poor man to become rich, and the character of all legislative action is to be judged by its greater or less tendency to produce this effect. A review of the measures urged upon the nation by the advocates of the system miscalled free trade, shows, almost without an exception, they have tended to the destruction of confidence, and therefore to the production of the political revolutions referred to in the first chapter.

The direct effect of the insecurity that has existed has been to centralize the business of manufacture in one part of the Union and in the hands of a comparatively limited number of persons—such as could afford to take large risks, in hope of realizing large profits. Had the tariff of 1828 been

made the settled law of the land, the Middle and Southern States would now be studded with factories and furnaces, and while the North and East would not have been less rich, they would be far richer, and the present inequality of condition would not now exist.

The power of the North, as compared with that of the South, is due to the jealousy of the former entertained by the latter, which has prevented the establishment of a decided system, having for its object the destruction of the English monopoly, and the ultimate establishment of perfect freedom of trade.

The object of the colonial system was that of taxing the world for the maintenance of a great mercantile, manufacturing, and landed aristocracy, and the mode of accomplishment was that of securing a monopoly of machinery. The object of protection is to break down that monopoly, and with it the aristocracy that collects for the people of Great Britain and the world those immense taxes, to be appropriated to the payment of fleets and armies officered by younger sons, and kept on foot for the maintenance of the existing inequality in Great Britain, Ireland, and India. All, therefore, who desire to see improvement in the political condition of the people of the world should advocate the system which tends to break down monopoly and establish perfect freedom of trade.

1 Edinburgh Review, October, 1849.

2 As a specimen of this, I take the following from one of the journals of the day: We are surprised to see gingham in market, sent out from England by the house of A. & S. Henry & Co. of Manchester, imitating the above goods in patterns, width, and style of finish. But a most palpable and unfair imitation is in the label, where, preserving the same general appearances as to size, colour of paper and ornaments, the word *Lancasterian* is substituted for *Lancaster*. That the whole is a manifest and intentional counterfeit, there cannot be a doubt. The goods will, undoubtedly, be sold for American Lancaster gingham, to which they are inferior in firmness of fabric and permanency of colour, to the manifest injury of the profits and reputation of the American manufacturer — *Boston paper*.

3 “ To those who have never reflected on the subject, it may seem like exaggeration to say that, as a general fact, at least nine-tenths of the lower orders suffer physically, morally, and intellectually, from being over-worked and under-fed; and yet I am convinced that the more the subject shall be investigated, the more deeply shall we become impressed with the truth and importance of the statement. It is true that but few persons die from direct starvation, or the absolute want of food for several successive days, but it is not the less certain that *thousands upon thousands* are annually cut off, whose lives have been greatly shortened by excess of labour and deficiency of nourishment. *** It is a rare thing for a hard-working artisan to arrive at a good old age; almost all become prematurely old, and die long before the natural term of life.”—*Combe’s Philosophy of Digestion*.

4 Sir Charles Lyell.

5 “ Humanity cries to us from the depths. If we will not answer her, it were better a millstone were tied about our necks, and that we were cast into the sea. Have we no sense of the precipice on which we stand? Have not the books of the prophetess been one by one burnt before our eyes—and does not the sybil even now knock at our doors to offer us her final volume, ere she turn from us and leave us to the Furies? Crime, not stealing, but striding onward. Murders, poisonings, becoming almost a domestic institution among our villages—husband, children, parents, drugged to their final home for the sake of the burial fees. Vice within the law, keeping pace with offence without. Incest winked at by our magistracy from its fearful frequency in our squalid peasant dwellings. Taxation reaching beyond the point at which resources can meet it, so that, at increasingly shorter intervals, we have to borrow from ourselves to make expenditure square with income. Poor Laws extended to Scotland and Ireland, where they were never known before, and new Poor Laws failing in England to check the advance of rates, and the growth of inveterate beggary, until property threatens to be swallowed up by the propertyless, and a terrible communism to be realized among us by a legalized division of the goods of those who have, among those who have not—the fearfulest socialism, the equal republic of beggary. ‘Speak! strike! redress!’ Three millions and a half of the houseless and homeless, the desperate, the broken, the lost, plead to you in a small still voice, yet louder than the mouthing theories of constitution-mongers. Man, abused, insulted, degraded, shows to you his social scars, his broken members, his maimed carcass: blurred in the conflict of a selfish and abused community.

“ We say it must no longer be. We are a spectacle to gods and men—‘a by-word and a hissing to the nations.’ Savages grow up in the midst of our feather-head civilization, wilder, more forlorn, more forgotten, and neglected than the Camanches, or the eartheaters of New Holland. Ragged foundlings, deserted infant wretchedness, paupers hereditary, boasting a beggar pedigree older than many of our nobles, grow up from year to year, generation to generation, eat with brazen front into the substance of struggling industry.”—*The Mother Country*, by Sydney Smith.

6 Take, as an illustration in the system, the fraud in carpets, such as are usually sold at auction. “The head end of the piece is woven firmly for a few yards, when the web is gradually slackened, so that the inside of the piece bears no comparison with the outside. This is done so adroitly that it is impossible for any, but the best judges to tell in what the cheat consists. There is a double evil in this imposture, for the fabric not only grows poorer and thinner as the piece is unrolled, but the figures, containing of course the same number of threads throughout, will not

match, their size being increased with the slackness in weaving. This is not only a positive cheat, but it greatly interferes with the honest dealer, whose goods being alike throughout, cannot of course compete in price. It is incredible to what an extent this practice is carried, and it is high time there was some legal remedy.”—*Dry Goods Reporter*.

7 “ This is one of the strangest places in Christendom. I know many men, who were models of piety, morality, and all that sort of thing, when they first arrived here, and who are now most desperate gamblers and drunkards.”—*Extract from a letter dated San Francisco, July 30*.

“ *American Lottery*—Class No. 1—\$10,000 in actual prizes, sixty-six numbers, twelve drawn ballots. Whole tickets, \$10; half do, \$5. This lottery will be drawn at the Public Institute in San Francisco, on the third day of October, ’49, at twelve o’clock, M., under the superintendence of the managers.”—*Pacific News*.

8 Wadsworth’s Address to the New York Agricultural Society.

9 The commissioners for inquiring into the state of education in Wales, describe a state of mental condition perfectly in keeping with the following account of their physical condition:— “The houses and cottages of the people are wretchedly bad, and akin to Irish hovels. Brick chimneys are very unusual in these cottages; those which exist are usually in the shape of large coves, the top being of basket-work. In few cottages is there more than one room, which serves for the purpose of living and sleeping.” Hence it is that there is so universal a want of chastity, resulting, say the commissioners, “from the revolting habit of herding married and unmarried people of both sexes, often unconnected by relationship, in the same sleeping rooms, and often in adjoining beds, without partition or curtain.” [See Westminster Review, No. XCVI]

10 Appendix to first Report of Board of Registration

11 Ibid.

12 “ I do not exaggerate when I say that there are no less than 200,000 Canadians in the United States; and, unless efficacious means are taken to stop this frightful emigration, before ten years two hundred thousand more of our compatriots will have carried to the American Union their arms, their intelligence, and their hearts.”—*Letter of Rev. Arthur Chiniquy*.

13 The whole quantity of paper required to supply the newspaper press of Great Britain and Ireland is 170,000 reams; while that required for the supply of *four papers* printed in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, is about 110,000, and the whole number of newspapers is about 2400.

Chapter Twenty-Fourth.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS CREDIT—INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL.

THE existence of credit is evidence of the existence of confidence that the man who desires to obtain for a time the use of property intends to return it. The more universal this confidence, the more readily can the capitalist place his funds, and the larger will be the return. The more universal it is, the more readily can the labourer obtain the necessary aids to labour, and the more productive will be that labour. If protection be “a war upon labour and capital,” it must tend to destroy the confidence of man in his fellowman.

The object of protection is that of bringing the consumer to take his place by the side of the producer, exchanging labour for labour, and thus diminishing the *necessity* for credit. Its effect is to diminish the machinery of exchange, and thus to increase the productiveness of labour, and with it the *power* to obtain credit.

The object of the monopoly system is that of separating the consumer from the producer, and *compelling* both to repose confidence in distant men, thus increasing the *necessity* for credit. Its effect is that of increasing the machinery of exchange, and diminishing the productiveness of labour, and thus diminishing the *power* to obtain credit.

That such is its effect in the colonies of Great Britain, we know. In India, once so wealthy, the ordinary rate of interest is twelve per cent.; but the poor cultivator borrows seed at the rate of one hundred per cent. Credit there has no existence, and yet almost the whole exchanges of the country are made at a distance of many thousands of miles, by men in whom the consumer and producer are *compelled* to repose confidence.

In the West Indies, credit has almost entirely disappeared. In Canada, even the government cannot effect loans without a guaranty from parliament. So is it throughout the whole range of colonies.

At home, capital is cheap, because of the want of general confidence. The capitalist takes two per cent.; but the labourer could not borrow at thirty per cent. The capitalist that owns machinery is enabled to dictate the terms upon which it shall be used by those who work. Sometimes he employs many work-people. At others few. Sometimes he works long time, and at others short time. At all times his people obtain but a small proportion of the products of labour; but at many times they obtain but *a very* small proportion, while at others they are unable to obtain the use of machinery at any price.

Abroad, the credit of English merchants is falling daily. But recently, there were in the great city of Liverpool, scarcely half a dozen houses that could be trusted with a cargo of cotton. Such are the effects of the system in which “Commerce is king,” and the consumer and the producer are placed at the mercy of the exchanger.

At no period in this country did confidence grow more rapidly than in the period between 1830 and 1834. At none did it decline with such rapidity as between 1835 and 1842. With the action of the tariff of 1842, it was restored, but with that of 1846 it again declines. There is no demand for capital, and it is cheap. There is little demand for labour, and it too is cheap.

Never, probably, since the settlement of the country, did the poor man find so much difficulty in obtaining the aid of capital, as in 1842, the period of free trade. Never has he found it more easy than between 1844 and 1847. The period of distrust has again arrived. Money is said to be abundant, but the security must be undoubted, and the poor man pays two per cent. a month for the use of capital that the rich man cannot invest to produce him more than four per cent. per annum. There is no confidence existing.

“Notwithstanding the cheapness and abundance of money,” says the New York Herald, “no one seems disposed to touch any thing in the way of speculation, and capitalists prefer loaning money at four per cent. interest, on good security, to purchasing stocks at present prices. They say that when they lend money on first-rate security, at a low rate of interest, they are sure of the principal and a small amount of interest, when they want it.”

The re-establishment of the tariff of 1842 would restore confidence, and produce a demand for labour, and wages would rise-and a demand for capital, the price of which would also rise, and thus it would appear that in protection is to be found the harmony of interest between the labourer and the capitalist.

NATIONAL CREDIT.

From 1830 to 1835, the national credit grew, for we paid for what we imported. From 1835 to 1840, credit declined, for we ran largely in debt for cloth and iron, for which our exports could not pay. In 1842, national credit disappeared, for we were unable to pay even the interest on our debts. From 1843 to 1848, national credit grew, for we paid interest and commenced the reduction of the debt. In the last two years we have gone largely in debt, and must now either diminish our imports or run further into debt.

How long we can continue to do this, does not depend upon ourselves. Any circumstance producing a change in the rate of interest in Europe, would cause our certificates of debt to be returned upon us for payment, and what then would be the state of the national credit? A nation that is largely in debt is always in danger of losing its credit.

Chapter Twenty-Fifth.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

THE more men live and work in connection with each other, the greater is their *power* to protect themselves. The more widely they are separated from each other, the greater is their *necessity* for seeking protection from others.

The more they live in connection with each other, the larger will be the product of their labour, and the greater will be their power to contribute towards the maintenance of peace and order. The less they live in connection with each other, the less productive will be their labour, and the less will be their power to contribute to that object.

With every increase in the productiveness of labour, the power of selfgovernment thus increases, with increased power to contribute towards the expenditures incident to the maintenance of government; and with every diminution therein, the power of self-government decreases, with diminished power to contribute towards the public revenue required for paying others for performing the duties of government.

If protection be, as is asserted, a “war upon labour and capital,” it must increase the necessity for government by others, and diminish the power to contribute towards its maintenance.

The object of protection is, however, that of enabling men to live in connection with each other, the consumer taking his place by the side of the producer, each protecting, and protected by, the other. This would seem to diminish the *necessity* for seeking protection from others. Another object of protection is that of enabling men to exchange

with each other, giving labour for labour, without paying so many persons for standing between them. This would seem calculated to increase their power to pay for protection, should it be needed.

The object of the monopoly system—now known by the name of free trade—is that of separating the consumer from the producer, and diminishing their power to protect each other. Their exchanges are to be always made in distant markets, and many wagons, ships, and men are to stand between, for the care of which fleets and armies are needed. This would seem to increase their *necessity* for protection, while the diminished power of combination of action would seem to tend to decrease their power of paying for protection.

How stand the facts? The question will be answered by placing side by side the expenditures under the different systems:—

Protection.		Free trade.	
	Per annum.		Per annum.
1829 to 1834.	\$16,800,000	1834 to 1841.	\$31,700,000
1843 to 1845.	20,700,000	1846 to 1849.	44,500,000

The necessity for contributing towards the support of government seems to have increased with the approach towards free trade, and to have diminished as we approached protection.

The revenue from customs in the several periods, was as follows:—

	Per head.		Per head.
1830 to 1834..	\$1.75	1835 to 1841..	0.84½
1843 to 1847..	1.36	1848-49...	1.—

I exclude here the year 1847-48, because it was an entirely exceptional one. We had imported a large amount of free goods—specie—in the preceding year, and we exported it again in 1847-48, to exchange for dutypaying ones, and the whole amount of duty received upon the goods so obtained in exchange, should be added to the revenue of 1846-47.

The power to *contribute* towards the revenue certainly decreased in the years of free trade, and precisely as the necessity for contributions increased. The amount actually paid was greater than is here set down, because the government collected, between 1834 and 1841, a large

amount of duties upon goods received in exchange for certificates of debt; but that was merely a payment in advance of production, and the consequence of receiving such payment was, that it was nearly bankrupt in 1842, and compelled to borrow almost thirty millions to provide for the continuance of its own existence.

We are now doing the same thing. The amount of debt incurred in the last year was not less than twenty-two millions, and upon this the government obtained duties, as before, in *advance of production*, to the extent of almost seven millions. If the power to buy on credit were now to cease, the amount collected would fall to twenty-two millions. Were the debt contracted last year now to be paid, it would fall to fifteen millions, and a large addition would have to be made to the public debt, as in 1841-42. How long a time is to elapse before such will be the state of things, it is not for me to predict; but if we make this year a further addition of twenty millions to our foreign debt, and close as many furnaces as we did in the last one, the day for it cannot be far distant.

The power to contribute towards the maintenance of government depends upon the power of production, and every circumstance tending to diminish the one tends equally to the diminution of the other. The power of production is now rapidly diminishing, and must continue so to do.

Such likewise is the case in England. From year to year the payment of taxes is becoming more and more onerous, notwithstanding so large a portion of them is thrown upon the farmers and planters of the earth, by aid of the system under which they are compelled to give more food, cotton, tobacco, and sugar, for less and less cloth and iron; and yet from year to year the expenditures have been increasing. Poverty produced rebellion in Ireland, and chartism in England, and thus increased the necessity for soldiers and sailors. The exhaustion of the older provinces of India led to a desire for Affghanistan, Scinde, and the Punjaub; and the failure of a market for labour in the form of cotton, drove the Hindoo to opium, which led to a war in China, and thus was made a demand for

fleets and armies. The poverty of Canada led to rebellion, and to the building of forts and ships. The anxiety to secure foreign markets has led to immense expenses for steamships and mail steamers, and thus the more the system tends to fail, the greater is the expenditure for its maintenance, and the less the ability of the people of England, and the farmers and planters of the world, to contribute thereto.

Let us now look to the other source of our national revenue—the PUBLIC lands.

The higher the value of labour, the more of it will be brought here for sale. The more people come here, the more land will be required. The larger and more valuable the freights homeward, the less will be the cost of freight outward, and the more numerous will be the commodities that can be exported to pay for those we may choose to import.

Were we now importing a million of men annually, the sales of land would soon reach ten millions of acres per annum. That point we should now reach in five years of perfect and fixed protection, and but few more years would be required to double both the importation of men and the sales of public lands. Here is a vast source of public revenue.

Perfect protection would, by degrees, diminish the import of cottons, iron, and other duty-paying goods, but we should consume treble or quadruple the quantity of coffee, tea, and the raw materials for the production of which the soil or climate of the country is not suited, and thus should we raise the value of labour employed in agriculture throughout the world.

It is asked, “If we converted all our cotton into cloth, what would Europe produce to pay us for it?” In answer, it may be said that the object of protection is that of enabling the consumer of food to take his place by the side of the producer of food, not to separate them. It is to our interest that the people of England should supply themselves with clothing made by men who eat the food of England, and that such should be the case with those of Germany and Russia, Spain and Italy, and with

every step in their progress they would need more cotton. To pay for it, they would employ their labour in the production of thousands of articles of taste and luxury, of which we should then consume immense quantities, and therewith there would be improvement of taste, refinement of feeling, elevation of character, and increase of individual and national strength, of which now we can form no conception.

Upon such commodities the duties would be moderate, and, as the imports of the more bulky of the duty-paying articles diminished, the customs' revenue would gradually decline, until at length the *necessity* for custom-houses would pass away, the power to maintain government with the land revenue having grown to take its place, and thus might be realized the wonderful idea of the government of an immense nation maintained without the necessity for a single man employed in the collection of taxes.

It would thus appear that between the interests of the treasury and the people, the farmer, planter, manufacturer, and merchant, the great and little trader and the shipowner, the slave and his master, the landowners and labourers of the Union and the world, the free trader and the advocate of protection, there is perfect harmony of interests, and that the way to the establishment of universal peace and universal free trade, is to be found in the adoption of measures tending to the destruction of *the monopoly of machinery*, and the location of the loom and the anvil in the vicinity of the plough and the harrow.

Chapter Twenty-Sixth.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS THE GOVERNMENT.

THE man whose labour is productive, and whose habits are economical, enjoys the confidence of the world; while he whose labour is

unproductive, and whose habits are wasteful, is looked upon with distrust. With the one, each day is marked by an increase of strength; while with the other it is marked by an increase of weakness.

So is it with communities. The peaceful and industrious grow rich and strong. The warlike and wasteful become poor and weak.

If protection be “a war upon the labour and capital of the world,” it must tend to cause diminution of wealth and strength, and the *monopoly system* of England must tend to the augmentation of both.

At no anterior period had the wealth and strength of this country grown with the rapidity with which it grew from 1830 to 1835. The nation was at peace and all were employed. At no period has decline been so obvious, or the descent more complete than in the period which followed. The nation was at war, and production declined until in many departments of industry it almost ceased. The name of America became almost a by-word for weakness and want of faith. In the four succeeding years, the recovery was such as to be almost marvellous, and then it was that the power of the nation first began to be admitted. That period has been followed by one of war and waste, and largely increased expenditure, rendering necessary the collection of large revenues, while production is diminishing. The people and the government are now living on borrowed money, and how long they can continue to borrow is uncertain. The revenue from customs in the year ending in June last was \$28,436,000. Of which there was collected on goods purchased with certificates of debt 6,600,000.

To meet the demands of the government for the present year, the whole sum of \$28,000,000 would be required, and, if we should cease to be able to purchase merchandise on credit, the government would be driven again to the raising of money by means of loans, and if at the same time the debts now being created were sent back upon us for payment, the present year might witness a repetition of the troubles of 1841 and 1842.

During the existence of the tariff of 1842, the government paid its way, and therefore it was strong. It is now carried on on credit, and therefore it is becoming weak. To the extent of the foreign debt created, the country has eaten and drunk and used that for which it has yet to pay, and the government has had its thirty per cent.; but a demand for payment would at once reduce the imports as much below the exports as they now exceed them, and the government would find its revenue decreased to the full extent of the present excess.

The contrast presented, on a review of the history of Great Britain and this country, is most instructive. Sixty years since, the former was rich and populous, while the latter was poor and its population was small and widely scattered. In wealth, the Union already exceeds her competitor, and in population it will do so at the close of the next decennial period.

The reason of this is to be found in the fact, that the policy of the one has tended to the separation of the consumer from the producer, while that of the other has, to some extent, tended towards bringing them together. The English system is based upon “ships, colonies, and commerce,” and in carrying it out, her colonies have been in succession exhausted. Ireland now lies prostrate and helpless—a burden upon her hands—an encumbrance rather than an advantage. Poverty and distress are coming gradually nearer and nearer home, while she is encumbered with an enormous debt, no part of which can she pay, and the interest upon which is yet paid only by aid of a series of repudiations quite as discreditable as those with which she is accustomed to charge upon Mississippi and Florida.^[1]

The American system is based upon agriculture, the work of production, and its object has been that of producing prosperous agriculture, by bringing the consumer to take his place by the side of the producer, and thus establishing that great commerce which is performed without the aid of ships or wagons. By aid of that system the original thirteen States have planted numerous colonies, all of which have grown and thriven, giving and receiving strength, while those of England, so long the

subjects of immense taxation, are now everywhere a cause of weakness. All desire to abandon her, while all would desire to unite with us, and were they at liberty to exercise their inclinations, the sway of the Queen of Great Britain would, probably, at the close of the present year, be limited to that island alone, with its twenty or twenty-two millions of inhabitants.

The *free trade* of England consists in the maintenance of *monopoly*, and therefore is it repulsive. The protective system of this country looks to the breaking down of monopoly, and the establishment of *perfect free trade*, and therefore is it attractive.

The one looks to “cheap” labour, and therefore does it expel individuals as well as communities. The other looks to raising the value of labour, and therefore does it attract both individuals and communities.

Protection tends to the maintenance of peace, and the increase of wealth and power. The colonial system tends to the production of causes of war, and the diminution and ultimate destruction of both wealth and power.

Between the views of those who would desire to see their government strong for defending them in the enjoyment of all their rights in relation to the other communities of the world, and those of others who desire to see the government peacefully and economically administered, there is therefore perfect harmony.

Chapter Twenty-Seventh.

HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS THE NATION.

THE man whose labour is productive, exercises the power of self-government, which increases with every increase in the productiveness

of his labour. With every diminution in his power of production, he loses more and more the power of self-government, and ultimately becomes a slave.^[2]

So is it with nations. With every increase in the productiveness of their labour, they are more enabled to determine for themselves their own course of action, uninfluenced by that of surrounding nations. With every diminution therein, they are more and more compelled to shape their course of action by that of others, losing the power of self-government.

With the diminished *necessity* for combination with their neighbours, there is an increased *power* for voluntary combination, (annexation,) tending still further to increase the return to labour. With increased necessity for combination, there is diminished *power* for voluntary combination, with diminished return to labour.

If protection be “a war upon labour and capital,” it must diminish the power of voluntary union, and increase the necessity for uniting our efforts with those of distant nations. If the English monopoly system tend to increase the value of labour and capital, it must tend to increase the power of voluntary union, and diminish the necessity for involuntary union.

Of all the nations of the world, there is, at the present time, not one that exercises in a less degree the power of self-government than that of Great Britain. For the last thirty years, her policy has been dictated by others. The repeal of the laws prohibiting the export of machinery was a matter of necessity, and so have been, in succession, all the laws relative to duties on imports. The duty on cotton was abolished because other nations had obtained machinery. Slave-grown cotton was admitted duty free, while slave-grown sugar was subjected to heavy duties, because a supply of cotton was matter of necessity. The restrictions on slave-grown sugar were abandoned, because the abandonment was necessary. The navigation laws have, step by step, been abandoned, as matter of necessity. The corn laws were repealed because it was deemed

necessary to conciliate the growers of corn into becoming large purchasers of cloth and iron. With each step in her progress, pauperism and crime increase, and the necessity for places of banishment for criminals increases, and with each there is increased difficulty in finding places willing to receive them. Having exhausted Van Diemen's land,^[3] and Norfolk Island, the Cape was recently selected for the purpose, but the colonists have set an example of successful resistance that will be elsewhere followed. Canada is now to be set free, and Ireland is to be retained, neither of them of choice, but both as matters of necessity. The nation has lost the power of self-government. Its policy is being dictated to it by the other nations of the world. The tendency to voluntary union has ceased to exist, and each day brings with it new evidence that the dissolution of the British empire is at hand.

If such is the case with the owners of the loom and the anvil, how is it with their subjects who hold the plough and follow the harrow? Ireland has no power of self-government. She is a mere machine in the hands of those who perform the duties of government. Poor-laws are inflicted upon her to such an extent as almost to amount to a confiscation of property, and then other laws are passed to authorize commissioners to take possession of, and sell, a large portion of the property of the kingdom, thus encumbered.

The West Indies were gradually exhausted under the system, and their people despoiled of their property by virtue of laws passed by men who paid no portion of the enormous loss thus inflicted upon their fellow-subjects. The people of Canada have had new systems inflicted upon them with a view to the maintenance of peace, but peace there is none. All desire to obtain the right of self-government, the first step in which will be resistance to the monopoly system.

Of all the colonies of England, the only one that has prospered is this Union, and it has so done, because it has, in a certain degree, exercised the power of self-government, manifested by a determination to bring the loom and the anvil to take their natural places by the side of the

plough and the harrow. Hence it is that every colony of Great Britain, Ireland included, desires annexation to us and separation from her. The tendency to voluntary union exists in a degree exceeding any thing that the world has yet seen. Nevertheless, we are yet but little more than a colony. Our people have no control over their own actions. They are almost as dependent upon the will of those who now desire, though vainly, to guide the movements of England, as are those of Canada.

If the people of that country determine to make railroads, iron rises in price, and we build furnaces and open coal mines, and import people to make iron and mine coal. If they cease to make roads, we shut up our furnaces and mines, and then the iron men and the coal men have to endeavour to raise food. If they ask a high price for cloth, we build mills. If employment become scarce with them, and their people cease to consume cloth, we close our mills, and our operatives are condemned to idleness. If the Bank of England make money cheap, we buy iron and cloth on credit; if it make it dear, we are called upon for payment, and then we break. If employment for capital be denied at home, our houses and lands rise in price; if capital become scarce, our houses and lands fall in value. If we build mills and furnaces, our people stay at home; if we close them, they scatter abroad. If money be cheap in England, our government obtains a large revenue from duties on the goods that are bought on credit; if it be dear, the revenue falls off, and the government begs for loans in Europe. The value of every thing, and the movement of every thing, in this country, are settled by the movement of the Bank of England, of all the large institutions of the world the one in the government of which there is manifested the least capacity; and the one, consequently, that possesses in the smallest degree the power of self-government. Four times in thirty years has it been on the verge of bankruptcy, and yet to its car and that of the government of England, now floundering in a sea of troubles, is this Union attached by aid of the system now known by the name of free trade.

For thus relinquishing the power of self-government, there should be a large consideration; yet all that we receive from Europe in return for all

we send her is fifty cents' worth of iron, half a pound of wool, as much flax, an ounce or two of silk, a cup and saucer, and the weaving and twisting of a pound and a half of cotton, per head, all of which could be produced or performed here by fewer people than have come here in a single year, when we have made a market for their labour. Half a million of people would produce treble the flax, the wool, the silk, and the iron, the china-ware, and spin and weave treble the quantity of silk, wool, flax, and cotton, that we receive from Europe in return for all the land and labour employed in producing the cotton, tobacco, rice, grain, butter, cheese, pork, and other commodities that we send to that quarter of the world; and that half million would consume almost as much cotton as is now consumed by all the people of Ireland, besides being customers to the farmer for fifty millions of dollars' worth of food, timber, and other of the products of the soil. We thus relinquish the power of self-government, not only without receiving an equivalent, but we give our property without an equivalent, and therefore it is that the farmers and planters of the Union remain poor when they might become rich.

Rich they would grow, for the people thus imported would require a vast amount of shipping, and cotton, rice, and tobacco would go cheaply abroad, while a vast consumption at home would maintain the price, and both farmer and planter would be enabled to consume more largely of coffee, tea, silks, books, pictures, gold, silver, and all other articles of necessity or luxury not produced at home, and the producers of those commodities would consume more cloth and iron, both of which we should then produce so cheaply that we could send them abroad, and thus would come wealth and prosperity, happiness and independence.

To the consciousness of the necessity for protection against the monopoly system was due the state of feeling that led to the Revolution. Resistance to oppression led, on various occasions, to non-importation resolutions, and the people were everywhere urged to endeavour to clothe themselves. The necessity for protection war recognised by the early Congresses, and its importance urged upon them by every administration.

Fifty years since, power changed hands; but with the accession of Mr. Jefferson came no change of policy. He thought “the manufacturer should take his place by the side of the agriculturist.” From that time, for a period of thirty-six years, every chief magistrate, *elected by the people*, was from the planting States of the Union, and all of them elected by the same party that elected Mr. Jefferson, and each and every one of them was an advocate of the system which tended to bring the loom to the neighbourhood of the plough, and thus to make a market on the land for the products of the land. By the last of these, his views on this subject were forcibly expressed in a letter that has frequently been published, and from which the following is an extract:—

“ I will ask, what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus produce? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign nor home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labour employed in agriculture, and that the channels for labour should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy; draw from agriculture this superabundant labour, employ it in mechanism and manufactures, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labour to the most profitable account, and benefits to the country will result. Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women, and children, and you will at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is true that we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and labourers of England, [as we do

by sending there for her manufactures,] feed our own; or else, in a short time, by continuing our present [free trade] policy, we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves.”—*President Jackson*.

At the close of that period there was a change of policy. Elected by the same party that had elected his predecessor, Mr. Van Buren adopted the policy which tends to the separation of the consumer from the producer, to the impoverishment of the land and its owner, and the maintenance of the monopoly system by which England had acquired the control of the movements of the world. The effects were disastrous, as may be seen by all who study the diagrams given in the third chapter, and the consequence was a political revolution. For the first time in forty years, a president was elected by the people not being of the party generally known as that of the Democrats. Democracy had changed sides, and the people did not go with it. The consequence of this was, nearly two years later, a return to the policy of protection and a restoration of prosperity, and with prosperity the party that had so long controlled the movements of the country was again restored to power. Unwilling, however, to acknowledge that the revolution of 1840 had been the consequence of an error of policy, they ascribed it to various minor and insignificant causes, and proceeded to the enactment of the tariff of 1846, and the consequence was another revolution by which the party of protection was again restored to power. Like the former, that revolution is now ascribed to minor causes; but those who will study the diagrams to which I have above referred can scarcely fail to see that it was due to the fact that the party styled Democratic had espoused a course of policy that tended to diminish the value of labour, to degrade the labourer, to depress the democracy at home, and to maintain the aristocracy abroad; nor can they, as I think, fail to arrive at the belief that no party adverse to protection can again hold power in this country. Such being the case, the interest of both parties, if actuated solely by purely selfish considerations, would lead to the advocacy of the same course of policy—the one in power desiring that it might not be adopted, and that thus they might profit by the agitation of the question for maintaining

themselves in authority, and the one out of power, that it might be settled, and the agitation of the question brought to a close.

CONCLUSION.

MUCH is said of “the mission” of the people of these United States, and most of it is said by persons who appear to limit themselves to the consideration of the *powers* of the nation, and rarely to think of its *duties*. By such men the grandeur of the national position is held to be greatly increased by having expended sixty or eighty millions upon a war with a weak neighbour, and having thus acquired the power to purchase, at a high price, a vast body of wild land that would, in the natural course of events, have been brought within the Union, in reasonable time, without the cost of a dollar or a life. By such men, the fitting out of expeditions for the purpose of producing civil war among our neighbours of Cuba, is held to be another evidence of grandeur. Others would have us to mix ourselves up with all the revolutionists of Europe; while a fourth and last set sigh at the reflection that our fleets and armies are too small for the magnificence of our position.

By some it is supposed that our “mission” is that of monopolizing the commerce of the world, and the time is anxiously looked for when we shall have “diplomatic relations” with “vast regions of the East,” Persia, Corea, Cochin-China, Burmah and Japan, with whom “nothing but the steam-ship can successfully introduce our commerce.” By “persevering and successful efforts,” it is thought we may secure the “commerce of Japan.” That done,

“New York,” it is thought, “would become the depot and storehouse and entrepôts of the world, the centre of business and exchanges, the clearing house of international trade and business, the place where assorted cargoes of our own products and manufactures, as well as those of all foreign countries, would be sold and reshipped, and the point to which specie and bullion would flow, as the great creditor city of the world for the adjustment of balances, as the factor of all nations and the point whence this specie would flow into the interior of our country through all the great channels of international trade and intercourse. With these great events accomplished, and with abundant facilities for the warehousing of foreign and domestic goods at New York, it must eventually surpass in wealth, in commerce, and population, any European emporium, whilst, as a necessary consequence, all our other cities and every portion of the Union and all our great interests, would derive corresponding advantages.”—*Treasury Report, December, 1848.*

The cost of a mission to Japan would build half a dozen furnaces that would add more to the wealth of the nation in five years than the commerce of that country would do in half a century. The amount we have expended on the mission to Austria, in search of a market for tobacco, would bring here as many Germans as would consume almost as much of our tobacco as is now consumed in the empire, and those tobacco consumers would do more for the growth of New York than either Japan or Austria.

The English doctrine of “ships, colonies, and commerce” is thus reproduced on this side of the Atlantic, and its adoption by the nation would be followed by effects similar to those which have been already described as existing in England. There, for a time, it gave the power to tax the world for the maintenance of fleets and armies, as had before been done by Athens and by Rome, and there it is now producing the same results that have elsewhere resulted from the same system, poverty, depopulation, exhaustion, and weakness.

But little study of our history is required to satisfy the inquirer that the power of the Union, and its magnificent position among the nations of the earth, are due to the fact that we have to so great an extent abstained from measures requiring the maintenance of fleets and armies. The consequence has been that taxes have been light, capital has accumulated rapidly, labour has been productive, and the labourer has received wages that have enabled him to feed, clothe, and educate his children, and the nation has thus performed its true “mission” in elevating the condition of man. If we desire to find exceptions to this, we must look to those periods in which the policy of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson, was departed from, and when the government adopted measures tending to the maintenance of the English monopoly of machinery, and there we shall find taxes more heavy, capital accumulating more slowly, labour more unproductive, and the wages of labour so much depressed that the labourer finds it difficult to feed or clothe his children, and still more difficult to educate them.

Two systems are before the world; the one looks to increasing the proportion of persons and of capital engaged in trade and transportation, and therefore to diminishing the proportion engaged in producing commodities with which to trade, with *necessarily* diminished return to the labour of all; while the other looks to increasing the proportion engaged in the work of production, and diminishing that engaged in trade and transportation, with increased return to all, giving to the labourer good wages, and to the owner of capital good profits. One looks to increasing the quantity of raw materials to be exported, and diminishing the inducements to the import of men, thus impoverishing both farmer and planter by throwing on them the burden of freight; while the other looks to increasing the import of men, and diminishing the export of raw materials, thereby enriching both planter and farmer by relieving them from the payment of freight. One looks to giving the *products* of millions of acres of land and of the labour of millions of men for the *services* of hundreds of thousands of distant men; the other to bringing the distant men to consume on the land the products of the land, exchanging day’s labour for day’s labour. One

looks to compelling the farmers and planters of the Union to continue their contributions for the support of the fleets and the armies, the paupers, the nobles, and the sovereigns of Europe; the other to enabling ourselves to apply the same means to the moral and intellectual improvement of the sovereigns of America.^[4] One looks to the continuance of that *bastard* freedom of trade which denies the principle of protection, yet doles it out as revenue duties; the other to extending the area of *legitimate* free trade by the establishment of perfect protection, followed by the annexation of individuals and communities, and ultimately by the abolition of custom-houses. One looks to exporting men to occupy desert tracts, the sovereignty of which is obtained by aid of diplomacy or war; the other to increasing the value of an immense extent of vacant land by importing men by millions for their occupation. One looks to the *centralization* of wealth and power in a great commercial city that shall rival the great cities of modern times, which have been and are being supported by aid of contributions which have exhausted every nation subjected to them; the other to *concentration*, by aid of which a market shall be made upon the land for the products of the land, and the farmer and planter be enriched. One looks to increasing the necessity for commerce; the other to increasing the power to maintain it. One looks to underworking the Hindoo, and sinking the rest of the world to his level; the other to raising the standard of man throughout the world to our level. One looks to pauperism, ignorance, depopulation, and barbarism; the other to increasing wealth, comfort, intelligence, combination of action, and civilization. One looks towards universal war; the other towards universal peace. One is the English system; the other we may be proud to call the American system, for it is the only one ever devised the tendency of which was that of ELEVATING while EQUALIZING the condition of man throughout the world.

SUCH is the true MISSION of the people of these United States. To them has been granted a privilege never before granted to man, that of the exercise of the right of perfect self-government; but, as rights and duties are inseparable, with the grant of the former came the obligation

to perform the latter. Happily their performance is pleasant and profitable, and involves no sacrifice. To raise the value of labour throughout the world, we need only to raise the value of our own. To raise the value of land throughout the world, it is needed only that we adopt measures that shall raise the value of our own. To diffuse intelligence and to promote the cause of morality throughout the world, we are required only to pursue the course that shall diffuse education throughout our own land, and shall enable every man more readily to acquire property, and with it respect for the rights of property. To improve the political condition of man throughout the world, it is needed that we ourselves should remain at peace, avoid taxation for the maintenance of fleets and armies, and become rich and prosperous. To raise the condition of woman throughout the world, it is required of us only that we pursue that course that enables men to remain at home and marry, that they may surround themselves with happy children and grand-children. To substitute true Christianity for the detestable system known as the Malthusian, it is needed that we prove to the world that it is population that makes the food come from the rich soils, and that food tends to increase more rapidly than population, thus vindicating the policy of God to man. Doing these things, the addition to our population by immigration will speedily rise to millions, and with each and every year the desire for that perfect freedom of trade which results from incorporation within the Union, will be seen to spread and to increase in its intensity, leading gradually to the establishment of an empire the most extensive and magnificent the world has yet seen, based upon the principles of maintaining peace itself, and strong enough to insist upon the maintenance of peace by others, yet carried on without the aid of fleets, or armies, or taxes, the sales of public lands alone sufficing to pay the expenses of government.

To establish such an empire—to prove that among the people of the world, whether agriculturists, manufacturers, or merchants, there is perfect harmony of interests, and that the happiness of individuals, as well as the grandeur of nations, is to be promoted by perfect obedience to that greatest of all commands, “Do unto others as ye would that others

should do unto you,”—is the object and will be the result of that mission. Whether that result shall be speedily attained, or whether it shall be postponed to a distant period, will depend greatly upon the men who are charged with the performance of the duties of government. If their movements be governed by that enlightened self-interest which induces man to seek his happiness in the promotion of that of his fellow-man, it will come soon. If, on the contrary, they be governed by that ignorant selfishness which leads to the belief that individuals, party, or national interests, are to be promoted by measures tending to the deterioration of the condition of others, it will be late.

THE END.

1 The great expansion of the Bank of England in 1839, was followed by the destruction of confidence among individuals to so great an extent that the three per cents went up to par, and the government availed itself of the opportunity to compel the holders of the four and a half per cents to take in exchange new certificates, bearing three and a half per cent. Shortly after the threes fell to eighty. The last expansion has brought about a similar state of things. Confidence is destroyed, and trade is paralyzed, and the threes are again almost at par; and it is now suggested that a new arrangement may be made by which the government may be enabled to repudiate a further portion of the interest on the debt.

2 “The transition from absolute freedom to a state of slavery is now in progress among the Arabs of Mesopotamia, owing to diminished power of obtaining the means of subsistence by the modes heretofore pursued. The poor and the weak are enslaved by those who are stronger and more wealthy.”—*Spectator*, March, 1840.

3 “Thither nearly the whole convict population of Great Britain and Ireland, about 3500 annually in number, were sent for several years. *** The consequence was, that ere long three-fifths of the inhabitants of the colony were convicts. *** The morals of the settlement, thus having a majority of convicts, were essentially injured. Crimes unutterable were committed; the hideous inequality of the sexes induced its usual and frightful disorders; the police, how severe and vigilant soever, became unable to coerce the rapidly increasing multitude of criminals; the most daring fled to the woods, where they became bush-rangers; life became insecure, and property sank to half its former value.”—*Blackwood’s Magazine*, November, 1849. “At present,

there are, or at least should be, above 5000 criminals annually transported from the British Islands.”—*Ibid.*

4 Russia is now raising by loan five millions of pounds sterling to pay the expenses of the war in Hungary. The farmers and planters of the Union are the chief contributors to this loan.